

REPORT.

OF THE

Thirty-first Indian National Congress

HELD AT

LUCKNOW

ON THE

26th, 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1916.

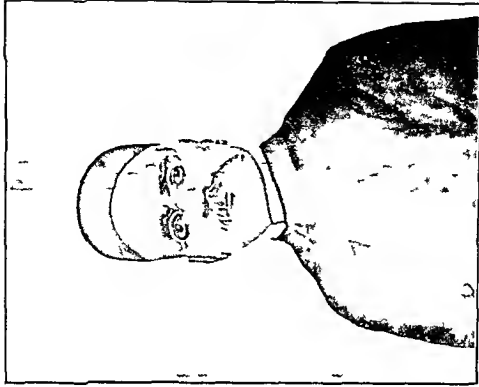


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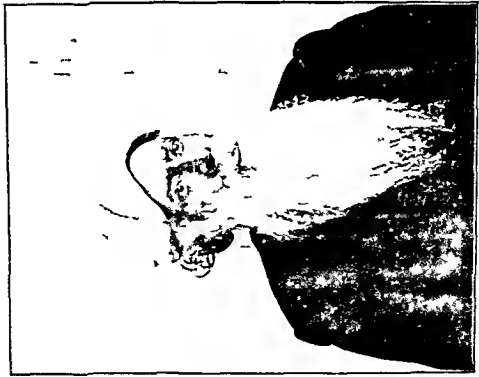
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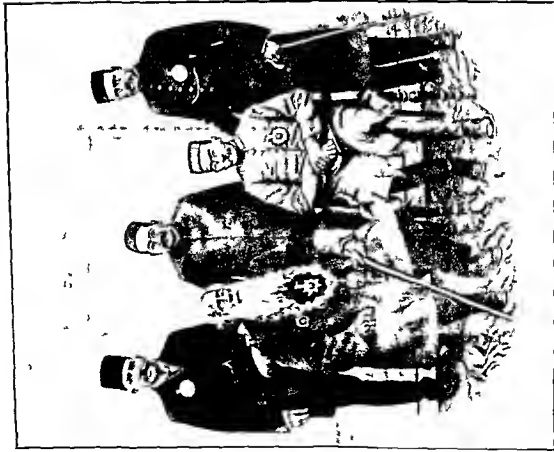
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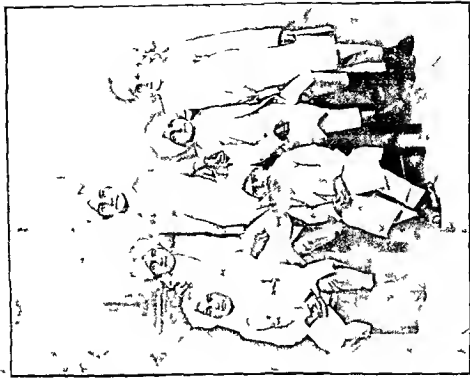
The late Laxmi Narayan Das



*The Hon. Shri Ambika Charan Mazumdar
President of the Session of the Indian National Congress 1916*



The President, the Chairman and the General Secretaries of the Reception Committee
 Hon M rra Sam ullah Beg Hon I t Gokarna N th M rra Babu B sh esh ar Nath Sr vastava
 Hon Babu Amb ka Chirun Mas umdar Hon Pand t Jagu Naray n



The President s Guard of Honour



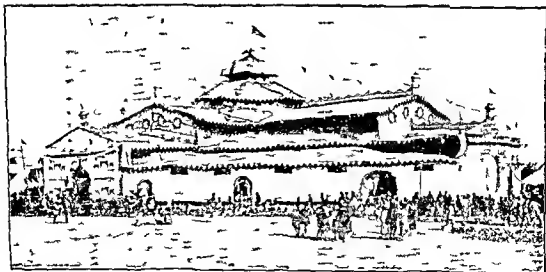
Workers Group
Indian National Congress 1916



Volunteers of the Indian National Congress 1916



The Girls of the Hindu Girls School Lucknow
who sang welcome songs at the session of the Indian National Congress 1916



The Congress Pandal
Indian National Congress, Lucknow 1916

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The Indian National Congress.

THE 31st SESSION

HELD AT LUCKNOW

Tuesday, the 26th December, 1916

OPENING DAY.

The thirty first session of the Indian National Congress assembled at 2 P M on the 26th December 1916 under the most auspicious circumstances. The magnificent *pandal* in which the Congress assembled was crowded to its utmost capacity every block reserved for the accommodation of delegates being full to such an extent as not to afford even standing room. The pavilion itself was gorgeously decorated the two most prominent features of the decoration being the flags of the Allies and His Majesty's portrait overlooking the great audience from the ceiling above the Chairman's seat. Loyalty to the British Crown and Devotion to the Motherland found prominent mention in numerous mottoes decorating various parts of the hall. The long and spacious platform on the eastern side of the *pandal* running from north to south was occupied by distinguished visitors of whom there was a great number including almost all the prominent Congressmen from various provinces. The subject which aroused the greatest enthusiasm was the question of Self Government for India and it was this feeling which was responsible for the presence of an unprecedentedly large number of delegates from all parts of the country at this year's session. The arrival of the President elect accompanied by the ex Presidents and members of the Reception Committee and escorted by an enthusiastic band of volunteers was the signal for a tremendous outburst of cheering and shouts of *Bande Mataram* and the whole assembly sprang to its feet to welcome him.

Opening of
the Ses-
sion

After all had taken their seats the proceedings began with the singing of *Bande Mataram* by a number of Bengali ladies to the accompaniment of the harmonium. This was followed by a song of welcome in Hindi sung by the pupils of the local Hindu Girls School.

The Hon Pandit Jagat Narain's Address

The Hon Pandit Jagat Narain Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcome coming the delegates said —

Address of
the Hon.
Pandit Jagat
Narain
Chairman of
the Recep-
tion
Committee

BROTHER DELEGATES LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — On behalf of the Reception Committee and the citizens of the United Provinces I offer you a cordial welcome to the historic city of Lucknow. The sight of this distinguished gathering which represents the intelligence culture and patriotism of this great country is one that will gladden the heart of every well wisher of India and I consider it a proud privilege to be called upon to welcome you on this occasion. We are fully conscious of the imperfection of our arrangements, and regret that we have not been able to make such provision for your comforts as we would have liked to do but I trust that you will generously overlook our shortcomings and take the will for the deed.

Ladies and gentlemen since the Congress assembled here seventeen years ago, a great change has come over men's minds and the new spirit has not passed Lucknow by. But it is sad to reflect that those who roused it from its torpor and exhorted it to march forward instead of casting longing lingering looks behind are no longer in our midst. It was Ganga Prasad Varma's earnest desire that Lucknow should invite the Congress

Address of
the Hon.
Pandit
Jagat
Narain,
Chairman
of the Re-
ception
Committee.

again. The Congress meets at Lucknow but our beloved leader is no longer here to inspire us with his example and to rejoice with us at its success. And before we could reconcile ourselves to the irreparable loss we have suffered in his death, we have been deprived of the guidance of Bishan Narayan Dar at a time when firmness of mind, soundness of judgment and clarity of vision are needed more than ever. Bishan Narayan Dar had a passion for study; he lived in close communion with the master-minds of the world, and to ripe scholarship he united a powerful and capacious intellect which enabled him to profit in a rare measure from the wisdom that lies embalmed in books. And withal he wore his learning lightly as a flower, and his many and varied gifts were always at the service of his countrymen. Though incapacitated by prolonged illness for active work, his interest in public affairs continued unabated till the end; and from his retreat at Almora he occasionally contributed articles to the press on important questions which testified to the vigour of his intellect and his zeal for public service. Had he been spared he would have stood before you to-day to welcome you and helped you with his knowledge and wisdom to solve the vital and intricate questions which will presently engage your attention. But fate has willed it otherwise, and I find myself in the position which he was to have so worthily filled, without any qualification for the task except a sincere desire to serve you. I can boast neither of natural gifts nor of knowledge, which would entitle me to speak with authority, but I may be allowed to say that I yield to no one in the love I bear to my country and am proud to be a soldier in the army of national progress.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is our misfortune to mourn this year for others besides Bishan Narayan Dar. Since we met last, G Subramania Jyer and Daji Abaji Khare have gone to their rest. The former was among the fathers of Indian journalism and by his informed and fearless writings contributed not a little to the formation and growth of an enlightened public opinion, and both of them were a tower of strength to the cause which we all have at heart. Nor, speaking at Lucknow, can I omit to mention Ikbāl Narayan Masaldan, a quiet, sincere and earnest worker, whose death a few months ago was a sad loss to the Reception Committee, of which he was one of the secretaries. Death, alas, is fast thinning the ranks of the old guard, but duty demands that we should not give way to depression, but inspired by their lofty example, persevere in the sacred task in which we are engaged and press on with zeal and determination to the goal that we have set before us.

Before proceeding further, gentlemen, I should like to acknowledge our obligations to the Local Government and our popular deputy commissioner, Mr. L. M. Jopling, for the assistance which we have received from them. We are indebted to them for the use of the plot of ground on which the *pandal* stands and for the help they have given us in laying out the camp and in several other ways. We cannot but be thankful for this, particularly when we recall the difficulties which the Reception Committee had to face in 1899 when the Congress last met at Lucknow. I wish I could have stopped here, but I cannot help uttering a word of surprise that the Local Government should have deemed it necessary to caution the Congress against intemperate speaking. We had hoped, brother-delegates, that the record of this great institution was a complete guarantee against such a nervous apprehension. At the best the warning was superfluous and it would have been better if it had not been addressed.

The present year will be a memorable one in the history of our political evolution. For the first time since the unfortunate split at Surat we witness the spectacle of a united Congress. Realizing that in union alone is strength, both the parties have laid aside their differences and resolved to work shoulder to shoulder to win for India a position compatible with her self-respect and dignity in the British Empire. They have heard the call of the country and, obliterating old divisions, rallied round her in the hour of her need.

Equally hopeful and encouraging is the patriotic spirit which inspires our Mahomedan brethren. There was a time, now happily gone for ever, when short-

sighted counsels prevailed among them and they gave to their community what was meant for the country. But education and the new spirit have done their work as surely among them as among the other sections of our countrymen. They have enlarged their vision and broadened their sympathies. Both the communities share the same aspirations to day and realize in a larger measure than they ever did before, that united action is essential to the fulfilment of their common destiny. Some of the most important leaders of Muslim public opinion in these provinces have joined our committee. And it is a significant sign of the times that the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League met together formally at Calcutta on the 17th and 18th of last month to formulate a scheme of reform to be pressed after the conclusion of the present war, on the attention of the Parliament and the people of Great Britain in the name of a united India, in order that we may have a controlling voice in the administration of our internal affairs. The conference marked a great step forward in our political evolution and disclosed a substantial identity of views between Hindus and Mahomedans. A few differences no doubt still remain but I am not without hope that they will prove short lived and that we shall soon see the two sister communities marching hand in hand on the path of progress. (Cheers)

Address of
the Hon
Pandit Jagat
Narain,
Chairman of
the Reception
Committee

The War and India's Aspirations.

Gentlemen it will be the supreme duty of the Congress to give expression to the hopes and aspirations to which the war has given a fresh vitality. The last decade has witnessed the birth of a new nationalism in India. The efforts of the older generation to awaken the consciousness of the people have produced their inevitable result. A new generation has arisen with new thoughts and new ideas, impatient of its dependent position and claiming its rights as free citizens of the British Empire. The advent of the European war infused a new enthusiasm into the people and galvanized their aspirations into a new life. England entered into the war avowedly to champion the cause of truth and justice and to protect the rights of those who were too weak to defend themselves. Face to face with the danger of Prussian militarism and threatened with the destruction of their noblest ideals, her people saw the doctrine of physical force in a new light and turned from it in disgust to the conception of a new order which shall be built on the rock of enduring principles. This sentiment found an answering echo in every corner of the Empire. Men learnt to set a new value on justice and liberty and began to examine how far their institutions were in accord with these principles. The new tendency is exhibiting itself in India as well and forces have been set in motion which it is the duty of statesmanship to deal with to day.

Gentlemen the war besides intensifying the longing for free institutions, enabled India to demonstrate her loyalty and to realize her value to the Empire. No one with an insight into the Indian mind ever doubted that India was thoroughly loyal and that whatever differences might exist between her and Great Britain in regard to her internal affairs she would rally round the Imperial Banner in the hour of danger. But men were not wanting who cast unjust doubts on her loyalty and believed that England's trouble would be India's opportunity. (Shame.) Instead of trying to bind her to the Empire with the silken tie of love they were always forging new fetters to keep her in bondage. The war has effectually silenced these croakers and some of them had the courage to avow openly during the earlier months of the war that they had never understood the Indian character. It had never occurred to them that Indian patriotism is the greatest guarantee of India's loyalty. (Hear, hear) for the realization of her most cherished hopes depends upon the continuance of British rule.

The assistance rendered by India during the war has fired her imagination. She has, so to say, found herself. She has acquired a new spirit of self reliance and dignity, and realized her own worth by coming to Britain's help at a critical juncture. The battle fields of Europe, Africa and Asia bear witness to the fighting qualities of her sons, and their deeds of heroism, written in characters of blood have

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the Reception
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thrilled every Indian heart. Had England been true to her traditions and followed a more enlightened policy in India who can doubt that she would have had military resources at her disposal such as no other nation has? (Hear hear) But regard being had to the disabilities that India labours under, it cannot be gainsaid that she has done the utmost that she could. His Excellency the Viceroy has shown this conclusively in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 5th September last. "The winter of 1914-15," said his Excellency, "was one of the most critical periods of the war for it was evident that the troops then available on the continent and in the United Kingdom were inadequate for the defensive role allotted to them and the only way, pending the raising and training of the new armies in which the position could be saved was by replacing the regulars serving in the Mediterranean and Colonial garnisons with Territorials and by drawing upon India for troops to the fullest possible extent. The demands then made on us were honoured in full and with the utmost promptitude. Our contribution to the war has largely increased since 1914. Our forces are serving in more than one theatre of war, we are assisting the authorities to the best of our ability in connection with the provision of munitions, transport, medical personnel and equipment and in other directions. And we have been paying every pie of the cost of the maintenance of our troops. It is a record of which as the Secretary of State for India recently stated India may well be proud. I am aware that in defiance of these facts the Government of India have been the subject of attack in some quarters for their alleged failure to give effective help to the Empire and various proposals have been put forward by their critics for utilizing Indian manpower and hoarded wealth to a larger extent in the defence of the Empire. But these critics conveniently forget that Indians are neither allowed to carry arms nor to enlist as volunteers and that their national income is £2 per head as compared to about £45 per head in the British Isles. (Shame) There are none so blind as those who will not see."

Gentlemen India now demands that after the war things shall not revert to their original condition but that she shall occupy a position worthy of herself as a member of the Imperial family. (Hear hear) She is not asking for rewards in return for her loyalty but having fought in defence of human freedom she expects that her own sons will no longer be denied their birth right as freemen. (Applause) It will be strange indeed if England who is fighting to preserve the sacredness of treaties and the integrity of small nations should turn a deaf ear to the cry of her own subjects and refuse to redeem her plighted word.

Self-Government

Gentlemen in my opinion statesmanship demands that Great Britain should announce to the people of this country that a self-governing India is the goal of her policy. (Applause) and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the war as a step towards that goal. Representative government should be made a reality by the fullest control over civil affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the executive. Indians should no longer be debarred from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes but should be given every opportunity of developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial Federation India should occupy the same position as the self-governing dominions. The memorandum submitted to his Excellency the Viceroy by our elected representatives, although not a complete statement of our demands proceeds on these lines and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee and which will soon come before you. But these reforms which fall far short of colonial self-government cannot satisfy India for all time to come and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them it should be provided that full responsible government shall be conferred on her within a generation. (Hear hear)

I now crave your permission gentlemen, to discuss a few objections urged against our modest demand. Is it in India's own interest, we are asked, that the reins of government should be transferred into her hands? Is she fit to bear the responsibility of governing herself? Are Indians fitted by previous experience to discharge the duties associated with responsible government or even to manage representative institutions? Has education made sufficient progress among them so that they may be expected to choose their best men as their leaders? And will they place national above communal interests or will sectarian rivalries draw them farther away from each other as soon as the bond of common obedience to their present rulers is dissolved? Gentlemen, I hope to answer these questions by appealing to the history of the British Empire, but I cannot help remarking that the recital of our shortcomings reflect little credit on British rule itself. 'Never let a prince says Machiavelli, complain of the faults of the people under his rule, for they are due either to his negligence or else to his own example.' (Hear, hear) England will do well to bear the saying in mind when it is tempted to justify its autocratic rule in India on the score of our unfitness.

Address of
the Hon
Pandit Jagat
Naram,
Chairman of
the Reception
Committee

Objections Answered

In considering the objections advanced against India's demand for greater freedom I am led to ask myself if Great Britain itself possessed all the qualifications which are now supposed to be the essential pre requisites of self government, when it was ruling not merely over itself but had extended its sway over a large part of the human race. I find that it was steeped in ignorance and political power was concentrated in the hands of a few. Ireland was unquiet, religious bigotry had by no means died out and modern ideas of social duty had not made much headway among the upper classes. But the ignorance of the masses did not deter statesmen from putting more power into their hands and in view of the glorious success which has crowned their policy, who will say that they should have waited until the people had attained to ideal perfection?

CASE OF CANADA

It may be said, however, that England has had a long experience in the art of government and that she has arrived at the present stage after a slow process of evolution extending over several centuries. But this could not have been said of the colonies when responsible government was conceded to them. I shall begin with Canada as being the first in order of time and importance. The right of Canada to control its internal affairs received statutory recognition in 1840 and responsible government was conceded a few years later. But the history of the colony during the few years preceding the grant of representative government concerns us more nearly than the events which followed it. Upper Canada was inhabited almost entirely by Englishmen. Lower Canada too contained men of British origin, but the vast majority of the inhabitants were of French extraction. The relations of the two races were far from friendly. The difference of race led to quarrels between the French and the British and between Lower Canada and Upper Canada, and seriously interfered with the government of the provinces. At last things became so serious that the Imperial Government was forced to intervene and to pass laws in order to safeguard the interests of Upper Canada. The interference of the British Government was fiercely denounced by the French politicians and a rebellion broke out in Lower Canada in 1837, which however was soon put down. The ostensible cause of the rebellion was political, but the real cause lay deeper. Political strife was the outcome only of racial bitterness and was accentuated in proportion as the latter increased. The report of Lord Durham, who was sent to Canada by the Imperial authorities in order to bring peace to the troubled provinces, gives startling illustrations of the extent to which the alienation between the two races had proceeded. The French hated the British and aspired to establish a government in which the British would occupy a very inferior place. They looked upon the British as their commercial rivals and regarded their increasing trade and prosperity with dislike and jealousy. In consequence of this state of things, says Sir John Bounnot, 'trade languished, internal development ceased, landed property decreased in value, the revenue showed

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"a diminution roads and all classes of local improvements were neglected, agricultural industry was stagnant, wheat had to be imported for the consumption of the people and immigration fell off. Juries were permeated with political prejudices. In purely political trials it was almost impossible to obtain justice. As to social intercourse between the two races, none of course existed. 'French and British', writes Lord Durham, "combined for no public objects or improvements, and could not harmonize even in associations of charity."

The year 1838 witnessed another rebellion. This time the infection spread to Upper Canada as well. The policy pursued by the Government in Upper Canada had given rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction and there were loud complaints against the dominant influence of the official class. The colonists demanded that the legislature should be wholly elected and that the executive be made responsible to the legislature. The Imperial Government, however, showed no sign of complying with their demands while the local Government practically made no secret of its hostility to the movement. The discontent consequently went on increasing and culminated in a rebellion.

Faced with such a serious situation what did the British Government do? Did it decline to make any concessions? Did it forge repressive measures to put down disloyalty with a stern hand? No, on the contrary, be it said to its credit that it set itself resolutely to the task of removing discontent, by removing the matter of it. Lord Durham's report was published about this time. This memorable document, which may be said to have laid the foundation of modern British colonial policy, awakened British statesmen to the gravity of the issues they were called upon to settle. Conceived in a spirit of far sighted statesmanship it proposed that England should withdraw from the direct government of the colonies and by conferring freedom on them in regard to their internal affairs, bind them to itself by the strongest of all ties the tie of self interest. "The colonists," wrote Lord Durham, "may not always know what laws are best for them or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs, but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs they will generally be the only, always the greatest sufferers, and like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy." Lord Durham's advice found ready acceptance with the Imperial authorities. An Act was accordingly passed in 1840 which affected the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada and made the colonists masters in their own house. All discontent immediately subsided, as if by magic. New interests were created, which provided healthy channels into which the energy of the people began to flow. Race was no longer the dividing line between different parties. Men grouped themselves not according to their origin but according to the view that they took of political, social and economic questions relating to their country.

I have mentioned above that at the time self government was conferred on Canada it was distracted by civil dissensions which had their origin in racial antagonism. Thus it was sadly wanting in one of the three qualifications without which, it is alleged self government can never be a success. It remains to be seen how far the people of Upper and Lower Canada were possessed of previous experience in the management of their institutions and what progress education had made amongst them. We find that Government disregarded the wishes of the popular assemblies and thought themselves bound to obtain the instructions of the Imperial authorities in difficult or doubtful cases. The executive officials were all appointed by the Crown and were not responsible to the legislature. "Their influence," says Sir John Bourinot, "permeated all branches of Government—the Executive, the Legislative Council, and even the assembly where for years there sat several members holding offices of emoluments under the Crown." The judiciary was more or less under their influence. The judges held office during the pleasure of the Crown and were nominated as members of the Executive and

Legislative Councils Even local self government, which is said to be the cradle of political freedom, had not made much progress in Lower Canada at least As for public instruction 'popular education was at the lowest possible ebb In 1837 there were in "all the private and public schools of the provinces only one fifteenth of the total ' population, which did not exceed one million In Lower Canada not one tenth could write Children repeated the catechism by rote, but, as a rule were unable to read The record of Upper Canada was no better It may be added that the means of communication were lamentably deficient The roads were in a wretched condition and at times were impassable Partly for this reason and partly because of the paucity of the police, the administration of criminal justice was very unsatisfactory Thus it is apparent that judged by the high standard insisted on in the case of India, Canada did not possess the qualifications needed for self government Disunion flourished among the people More than half the population belonged to a race which was a stranger to responsible government in its own country, and there was no antecedent guarantee that they would be able to fulfil the responsibilities which their newly gained freedom imposed on them In education undoubtedly India lags behind Canada as it was in 1840, though percentages are hardly fair standards of comparison where the difference of population is so vast. But we are now in advance of England as it was three quarters of a century ago And in any case the main point to be determined is the attitude of the people towards education The enthusiasm which greeted Mr Gokhale's Education Bill which was rejected by those who taunt us with our educational backwardness and the progressive increase in the number of pupils in spite of the restrictive policy followed by Government furnish unmistakeable proofs of the recognition of the importance of education by the people If they are still backward it is not because of apathy but because of the absence of proper facilities. Thus practically speaking every argument used to advocate self government for Canada can be applied with equal force to India The statesmen of Lord Durham's day recognized that responsibility could be acquired only when adequate scope was given for its exercise. They believed that liberty would make the colonists wise and exercise a far greater educative influence on them than the irksome restraints of a distant Parliament Events have fully justified their confidence The progress and prosperity of Canada are a tribute to the wisdom of their policy There is no reason why English liberties and privileges should not produce a like result in India Indians have proved their fitness whenever and wherever they have been tried in responsible positions and if the past is a guide to the future they may be safely entrusted with the direction and management of the affairs of their country to a much larger extent than hitherto They may make mistakes in the beginning but they will be all the better for them in the end

CASE OF AUSTRALIA

I shall now deal briefly with the case of Australia It does not seem to me that its earlier history makes a very inspiring or profitable reading The attention of the Imperial authorities was not turned towards it until it became a matter of urgent necessity to find some place to which criminals could be transported Some means had to be devised for disposing of the convicts who could no longer be sent to the American colonies and Australia offered a satisfactory solution of the difficulty During the earlier years of its history it was thus a land of convicts and it continued as a penal settlement roughly speaking till the forties of the last century Systematic efforts were made to introduce free immigrants in the twenties into New South Wales to which the earliest colonising efforts were directed and although this had an appreciable effect in promoting the welfare of the colony and raising the moral tone of the settlement, it cannot be claimed that all the new settlers were of a desirable kind or that any serious efforts were made to grapple with the moral evils which were rampant in the colony. Through carelessness or inefficiency women sent out to the settlement were for the most part such as to make the task of reforming the people more difficult "New South Wales" writes a historian, "was, in fact, made the dumping ground "for all the convicted as well as the unconvicted criminals of the United Kingdom" Drunkenness and immorality prevailed there to an alarming extent and even so late as 1835 the moral condition of the colony gave cause for serious anxiety As for

Address of
the Hon
Pandit Jagat
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of the Reception
Committee

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education I cannot say how far it had progressed but till 1848 it was entirely denominational. The state maintained no schools of its own. The economic condition of the colony however was much better than its social condition. Land was being steadily brought under the plough great progress was being made in cattle rearing and trade and commerce were undergoing rapid expansion. But even when these hopeful features are taken into consideration I must say that the impression left on one's mind by a perusal of the early history of New South Wales is not particularly pleasant.

It is not necessary for me to go into the history of the other Australian colonies. Their development was not in every respect similar to that of New South Wales but if I am not mistaken it does not present any markedly dissimilar features.

As for the political condition of New South Wales which is the chief object of our concern a representative element was introduced into its government with the advent of free settlers in 1823. A further step was taken in 1842 when the popular element was increased. Finally full responsible government was conceded in 1853. It was also conceded to Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania at about the same time. If the facts I have stated above are correct it does not appear to me that New South Wales or the other colonies satisfied the tests that are now a days applied to India. A large proportion of the colonists could not be said to have attained to a high social or ethical standard and no systematic efforts had been made to educate them. And yet the Imperial Government showed itself ready says Dr Keith to grant responsible government because of the discoveries of gold and the influx of population. Besides the principle had been established by the example of Canada and its acceptance there made its recognition inevitable in the case of other colonies. If there is any substance in the objections advanced against the widening of Indian liberties the conditions under which Australia was started on a career of full fledged self government were no very hopeful but its progress during the regime of freedom exposes the utter hollowness of the contentions of our critics.

CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

South Africa is the latest example within the British Empire of the benefits of self government. Undeterred by opposition in Parliament and the wailings of 'the men on the spot' the Government of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman conferred full responsible government in 1906 and 1907 respectively on the Transvaal and the Orange River State which less than six years before had been engaged in a bloody struggle with England. While the events of the war were still fresh in the public mind the Dutch were not merely placed on a footing of equality with the English but granted liberties which they had not enjoyed under their own rule. The rivalries of race and language instead of finding free play have as a consequence become less prominent than they were a decade ago and the Dutch so far from rising against England at the first favourable opportunity that offered itself have been so completely won over by the magnanimous policy followed by her that they are to day fighting side by side with her sons for the maintenance of her Empire.

Gentlemen the three examples of Canada, Australia and South Africa which I have just quoted bear convincing testimony to the potency of self government as an instrument for the advancement of both national and imperial interests. In all of them it has been found to be a healing and cementing principle although according to the exacting standard set up by our critics not one of them could have made good its claim to self government when it was granted to them. And where they have succeeded why should India fail?

Our Task

But the task of the advocates of self government for India is not over when they have proved her fitness for it. Even if it be conceded it is said that free institutions should be introduced into India this is not the time for stirring up controversy. Great Britain is engaged in fighting a powerful and determined enemy, to crush whom will be needed all the strength and resources of the Empire. It is the duty of every loyal citizen to do nothing at this juncture which will divert her attention from the successful prosecution of the war. We acknowledge our obligation to refrain

from doing anything which will embarrass the authorities and are cheerfully rendering every assistance we are capable of in the titanic struggle which will decide the fate of Europe. But at the same time we owe it to ourselves that we should make our people understand the inner meaning of the struggle and be in a position to make our wishes and sentiments known to the British Government when the reconstruction of the Empire is taken in hand. If Indian claims are to have any chance of being seriously considered we must be able to place our views before the authorities when plans for the reorganization of the Empire are being discussed. This requires that our demands should be formulated in the form of a definite scheme and that sufficient time should be given to the country to discuss it thoroughly. Unless this is done there is a great danger that we may be told that we do not know our own mind or that our views give expression only to the aspirations of a microscopic minority. Clearly, therefore we cannot impose silence on ourselves till the conclusion of the war, for it may be too late then to do anything. On the contrary it is our duty to lose no time in educating public opinion and in discussing the vital question of India's position in the Empire after the war in the press and on the platform. The time has certainly not come when we should press our claims on the attention of Government but it is not a moment too soon for making up our own minds on the subject. As a matter of fact more than a year has passed since the public discussion of this problem began and it is only now that unanimity has been reached with regard to the changes which must be made in the Indian constitution in order that we may have adequate room for expansion and a fair field for the employment of our talents and energies. If Hindus and Mahomedans had neglected to take counsel among themselves beforehand and to make efforts to arrive at a common understanding they would have found themselves totally unprepared to represent the Indian case properly after the war at the tribunal of the Empire. The task of remodelling the fabric of Empire could not have been postponed till the political lotus eaters of India had made up their minds and with the best will in the world imperial statesmen would have been forced to leave her out of account in determining their future policy.

There are other reasons also why we cannot sit still till the war is over. England herself has not postponed till the end of the war the consideration of questions affecting her vitally. In spite of it she is busy devising means for increasing her national efficiency. She has already taken steps to overhaul her system of education and is actively concerting measures with the Allies to promote her economic development after the war. The colonies too are not silent. They are insisting loudly on their right to be associated with the mother country in the control of foreign affairs and to be consulted in matters relating to peace and war. Their responsible spokesmen have declared that the matter cannot be kept in abeyance during the war but that advantage must be taken of the present state of public opinion to bring about a satisfactory settlement. Mr Bonar Law as Secretary of State for the Colonies publicly stated that the present was the most favourable opportunity for promoting unity between England and the dominions and that the enthusiasm created by the war should be utilized to draw closer the bonds that unite them to her. Why should England be embarrassed if following her own example and that of the colonies India too bestows a little attention on some of the most vital questions affecting her future? (Hear hear)

ATTITUDE OF BRITISH STATESMEN

Again the change in the attitude of British statesmen towards India during the last year and a half gives cause for serious anxiety. During the earlier months of the war there appeared to be a change in their angle of vision. India's services found a grateful mention in their public declarations and she was promised a reconsideration of her position after the war. But an ominous silence now prevails in regard to her. While the colonies have continued to receive generous attention and the Prime Minister of Canada and Australia have been invited to meetings of the British Cabinet as a proof of England's sincere desire to give the colonies a greater share in the control of Imperial affairs, the enthusiasm created by India's magnificent response to the call of the Empire has to all appearances cooled down and her services are in danger of being forgotten.

necessary that we should knock at the door of the British democracy. It is true that our first task is to educate our own people whose united strength nothing will be able to withstand, but British public opinion is the final arbiter in our case and its education should be an object of special concern to us.

Address
the Hon
Pandit Iswar
Chandrasekhar
Narain
Chairman of
the Reception
Committee

Ladies and gentlemen, we are living in momentous times. On every side we see the stirrings of a new spirit, a yearning towards light and freedom, and the time is at hand for the realization of the glorious dreams of those who sowed the seed of western knowledge in India. The call of the Motherland is sounding in our ears. The Press Act cannot quell our ardour, nor can the Defence of India Act cool our enthusiasm. (Hear, hear.) They only reinforce the lesson that 'where freedom lives not there live no good things. Unjust opposition, instead of daunting us, will only stimulate us to greater effort, for to us self government is not a privilege but a duty. (Hear, hear.) Inspired by a clear eyed faith in the ultimate victory of our cause, which nothing can shake and a passionate patriotism which rejoices in service and self sacrifice, we shall march forward resolutely to the goal that we have set before us of winning for our country its rightful place in the British Commonwealth. I earnestly trust that England will read the signs of the times aright and add a glorious page to her history by helping three hundred millions to cast off the shackles that bind them. "The menace the real peril" as Mr Bernard Houghton says, "lies not in the grant of more popular government to India, "it lies in the continuance of the present system, a system which has served its purpose "but which India has now overgrown." These are wise words which Great Britain will do well to ponder over. India has been too long at school. She can no longer be persuaded that her liberties are safer when held in trust for her by others than in her own hands. And the unrest in India is the greatest tribute to British rule. (Hear, hear.) In the words of Mr Kerr, the editor of the *Round Table*, "If British rule however benevolent "and well intentioned, did not produce this uneasy striving after better things it would "carry within itself its own condemnation. Englishmen ought to welcome with pride the "desire of India to govern herself. To quote again the words of Mr Houghton, who was himself a member of the Indian Civil Service, with a slight change, their representatives in India should "now stand aside, and in the interest of that country they have served "so long and so truly, make over the dominion to other hands. Not in dishonour, but "honour proudly, as shipbuilders who deliver to seamen the completed ship may they "now yield up the direction of India. For it is the inherent defects of the system which "no body of men, however devoted, can remove, which renders inevitable the change "to a new policy. By a frank recognition of those defects they can furnish a supreme "instance alike of loyalty to the land of their adoption and of a true and self denying "statemanship. (Loud applause.)

Formal Election of the President.

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, who received an ovation on rising to speak, said—Mr Chairman, Brother delegates ladies and gentlemen—On behalf of the Reception Committee I have been requested to lay before you a proposition which, I am sure will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic approval. My proposition is that this Congress do ratify the election of the hon Mr Ambica Charan Murumdar. (Applause) as President of the Congress. I used the word 'ratify' deliberately because our proceeding in this matter is more or less of a formal character. I fear, Brother delegates, you do not know much about my esteemed and venerable friend (Cries of "we do"). I am glad to hear that you do, but all of you do not, I think. He has been doing useful, solid, splendid work in the silence and obscurity of his native town far away in one of the eastern districts of Bengal. I have known Mr Mazumdar for the last forty years and more. Both of us were then young both of us were in the prime of life full of that youthful enthusiasm which, I hope, in him as well as in me is not yet dead. (Applause) Both of us were then members of a profession which he has subsequently vacated, the noblest that one can think of, the profession of a teacher. Both of us were schoolmasters, working in the Metropolitan Institution under the guidance and control of that great and illustrious Bengali, Pandit Iswar Chunder Vidyasagar. We then became

Formal Elec-
tion of the
President

Mr Surendra
Nath
Banerjee

Formal Elec-
tion of the
President

Babu Surendra
Nath Banerjee

friends close intimate friends and formed a friendship which will last and endure so long as life lasts and endures, a friendship which culminated in warm personal attachment and devotion to one another in comradeship in the field of battle fighting for India's freedom (Applause) My friend is not only a theoretical but a practical politician. He has done splendid work in connection with the institutions of local self government, and local self government to quote the words of Mr Gladstone is the seed plot upon which and around which develop those habits which constitute the truest qualification for self government. For years he was Chairman of the Faridpur Municipality, not an ornamental figure head but an active worker like your illustrious countryman Ganga Prasad Varma looking after every road and every drain. My friend has changed the character and complexion of his native city Faridpur before him was something very different from what Faridpur now is. He has given it a system of water supply which has become the model of similar systems in the mofussil towns of Bengal. As a member of the Bengal Legislative Council he has done valuable work. As connected with the Swadeshi movement and the anti partition agitation—those were stirring times—he has rendered services which, I hope and trust a grateful country will never forget (Applause). His independence of character honesty of purpose high intellectual capacity unflinching devotion to the cause of the Congress and the country have made him out to be one of the most illustrious among the great and illustrious leaders of public opinion in India. You are wise in selecting such a man as your President. We are on the eve of a great readjustment. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has told us that a new spirit is abroad that we live in stirring times. At such a time we need the wisdom the tact the firmness the conciliatoriness of a man like Mr Mazumdar and I have confidence that you will profit by his sound wise guidance and statesmanship in the critical time that awaits you. I congratulate you on your election and I do not propose to stand between you and the Presidential address which would be just presented to you (Applause)

With these words I lay before you the resolution which I have moved

The Hon
Mr R. N.
Mudholkar

The hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar in seconding the resolution said—Mr Chairman, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the proposition rather of a formal nature but none the less of great importance which has been moved in such eloquent terms by our leader Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, Gentlemen. Mr Banerjee has been associated with our President elect who will soon be our President in fact for over forty years. I as a man belonging to another province can claim a privilege which is only a little less and that is of having been associated with him for over 13 years in the service of the Congress. Gentlemen, it is in this province at Allahabad in that eventful year of 1888 that I came to know our respected leader, Mazumdar—I do not put the word "Mr" before him deliberately. Gentlemen we were attracted to each other from the very earliest days and the high opinion with which we impressed men with whom he came into contact has been more than justified. He has been one of the most stalwart workers in the Congress cause in fair days and in stormy time, during those years when the official frown was considered as very strong he was one of our firmest and most devoted workers. When unfortunately there arose differences amongst us even then he was one of those who worked harmoniously with all sections amongst whom differences had arisen. Gentlemen from the first the great demand of the Congress has been representative government for India the association of the people in the government of the country has been our watchword from 1885. Now, we are within view of what we may call a further and more important advance in that direction. On an occasion like this, when the readjustment of the empire is in view, when it is necessary for us to formulate our demands properly and fully it is only just that one of our most consistent patriots should be called upon to preside on this occasion. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, with these words I again second the proposition moved by my friend Babu Surendranath Banerjee, that we do ratify the election of Mr Ambica Charan Mazumdar made by the Committee.

Mr Setalvad —On behalf of Bombay, I support the motion

Mr C. H.
Setalvad

Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar —I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution. Mr Ambika Charan Mazumdar has been the old and tried friend of the Congress. Although many of us may not have had the privilege of the intimate personal acquaintance with him that Babu Surendranath Banerjee has had, we have known him through his book and his work. For over thirty years he has shared the troubles and the responsibilities of the Congress, he has been with us through thick and thin, and it is peculiarly appropriate that, in this significant and memorable period of the history of the Congress, we have been able to secure one of his ripe experience, his deep insight into present conditions of the day, and his intimate knowledge of the history of the Congress to preside over the deliberations of this Congress. Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

Diwan
Bahadur
L. A. Govindaraghava
Aiyar

The resolution was put and carried with acclamation and the President-elect was conducted to the chair.

The Secretary then read a number of letters and telegrams from people who were unable to attend the session.

Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar —Gentlemen, we meet to day under the shadow of a great calamity. The war is still upon us and the deadly work of slaughter and destruction continues unabated. England and her Allies have taken up arms for the defence of the cause of Liberty. India has contributed her quota in this great Titanic struggle. Symptoms of the weakening of the enemy are visible and signs are not wanting of an approaching settlement. We hope and trust that, when the time for settlement comes, India will have a full share of her representation in the councils of the Empire, and her representatives will be there in adequate number and their voice will be heard in the settlement of the Council. Gentlemen, with these few observations I proceed to deliver my address.

The President
(dental
Address

The
Hon. Babu
Ambika
Charan
Mazumdar

BROTHER AND SISTER DELEGATES, LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

Prefatory.

It was Lord Curzon who on a memorable occasion said that it was not given to "an Indian corporal to carry the Field Marshal's baton in his knapsack, but here an Indian private recruited somewhere in the seventies who, after a few years' training, joined his colours but never rose above the rank of subaltern, has to day after nearly 35 years of active service found that baton thrust into his hand which, however, he neither deserved nor dreamt of in all his life. I use no language of mere convention when I say that, trying and momentous as the present situation is, I sincerely wished that at this turning point in the history of the national movement, the presidential chair of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress had been offered to a more capable person who might have not only inspired greater confidence but by his superior tact and judgment safely steered it clear of all shoals and bars that still lie before it and successfully led it into port after a perilous voyage extending over thirty years. I wished it had been permitted to me to stand aside and gratify the wishes of a section of my countrymen with whose ardent hopes and sanguine expectations for the rapid advancement of the country I am in the fullest sympathy. But it ought to be remembered that the chosen spokesman of a great representative assembly like the Congress is merely an accredited agent whose individuality is more or less merged in the body politic and whose freedom of action is largely controlled by that body. Even his voice, as I understand it, is bound not to reflect his personal *ipse dixit*, but echo the reasoned feelings and sentiments of those whom he seeks to represent. In every organised movement the individual counts for nothing and the voice of the majority cannot but be respected under a constitutional fiction as the voice of the whole. In a case like the present one is often precluded even from giving due consideration to his fitness or unfitness for the great task which is thrust upon him. It was the country's mandate in the country's cause which demanded unquestioning submission. The decision as well as the responsibility rested with the country, the duty resting on me. I am neither so vain, nor so foolish as to imagine

The Presidential Address

The Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar

for a moment, that the great honour bestowed upon me is intended for a personal distinction. I am under no such delusion. I am fully conscious that it is the democratic spirit of this National Organisation which has in its natural evolution sought to vindicate itself by drawing out an old servant of the cause from his retirement in an obscure corner of the country to fill the presidential chair in the twilight of the evening of his life. Gentlemen, if I have not beguiled you by offering you the customary thanks, it is because thanks presuppose some claim to receive a gift, and I frankly confess that I have not sufficient confidence in myself to thank you for the very difficult and delicate position in which you have placed me. However, lest you or anybody else should think that I am 'poor even in thanks' I thank you with all the warmth and fervour of a devoted heart for the great honour—the greatest in the gift of the country—which you have conferred on me by calling me to preside over the deliberations of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress at Lucknow, the historic capital of Oudh, which played such an important part in the early history of British rule in India—Lucknow, the *Kashala* of the ancients, the city built by Asaf-ud-Dowla and adorned by his successors with magnificent mosques, mausoleums and imambaras and crowned with gilded towers, minarets and cupolas—Lucknow, the centre of the great tornado which swept over India in 1857 in which the brave Lawrence and Nicholson fell and where the gallant Havelock sleeps embalmed in the thrilling memories of a historic siege. Gentlemen, I think I have one indisputable claim to your just and generous consideration. If you have in your choice placed me in this responsible position you are in common fairness bound to extend to me a reasonable amount of support and indulgence so as to enable me to discharge my duties with some measure of success.

Tribute to the Dead.

Ladies and Gentlemen, while most people count their gains, we have to count our losses at the end of every year. How sad it is to contemplate that scarcely a year passes away without leaving us the poorer in the ranks of our public men! How fast are the dear old familiar faces on the Congress platform vanishing into the void! Not to speak of the serious losses which the country sustained in her earlier bereavements, only last year we lost three of our tried veterans, the brilliant, the versatile, the indomitable Pherozeshah Mancharjee Mehta, the saintly and devoted Gopal Krishna Gokhale and that silent and steadfast worker who was one of the brave 72 who inaugurated the Congress at Bombay in 1885—Ganga Prasad Varma. And before this old, rickety globe of ours could complete another revolution that 'fell sergeant strict in his arrest' has snatched away three of our brave comrades whose loyalty to the country was equalled only by their spirit of self-sacrifice, and whose devotion to duty was surpassed only by their extraordinary capacity for work. G. Subramania Iyer, the founder of the *Hindu*, the organizer of the *Mahajan Sabha*, the editor of the *Swaresh Mitram*, who was the first to lead the plough and turn the first sod on the Congress soil by moving the first resolution of the First Indian National Congress, may well be called the maker of Modern Madras; while Daji Abaji Khare, who was for about eight years loyally and devotedly associated with our esteemed friend and veteran leader, the Hon. Mr. D. F. Wacha, as a Joint General Secretary to the Congress, was a man of whom any community might be justly proud and whose untimely death is an irreparable loss to the country and the Congress. Lastly, it is with feelings of profound grief which has not yet been touched by the healing hand of Time that I must mention the passing of our gifted and distinguished countryman, one of my predecessors in the chair to which you have called me to-day, Pandit Dhanu Narain Das. Brother delegates, as the first citizen of Lucknow and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, his voice should have been the first to be heard in this *pandal* this afternoon in eloquent welcome extended to us all, but it was not to be, and his voice has been hushed in the great Silence, and the duty remains with us of offering our respectful tribute to his departed worth. Yet another eminent Indian has recently passed away, who, though not in the Congress, was with the Congress all his life. Mr. B. L. Gupta belonged to that distinguished triumvirate who formed the vanguard of the Indian Civil Service in this country, and it was he who was the originator, if not the author, of the

Ilbert Bill. Two of this triumvirate have passed away, while, thank God, the third who having consecrated his life to the service of the Motherland, still retains the command which he has held for the last 30 years. May Surendra Nath Banerjee be long spared to lead us and serve the country. We have had very few friends in England and how fast is their rank thinning away! Sir Henry Cotton who both in and out of Parliament, was one of the bravest and truest champions of the Indian people and who had cheerfully sacrificed his own interests for those of India, passed away last year amidst the universal lamentations of a grateful people who had most need of such a man at the present juncture, while shortly afterwards the Great Labour leader, Mr. Keir Hardie, who made India's cause his own and like Hamden with dauntless breast fought for suffering humanity, went to his eternal rest, creating a void in the ranks of our friends which is not likely to be soon filled up. We are, however, grateful to kind Providence that the Saint of Versova and the Sage of Meridith are still spared to us to guide us and cheer us with occasional messages of hope and confidence. How the brave and the mighty have fallen and how many more have yet to fall in the weary march through the desert before we can reach even the threshold of the Promised Land. But dead or alive, they can not be completely lost to us if we can only realize that their mighty spirits are ever hovering over us and in their unerring vision silently guiding us in the onward march, encouraging us in our success and comforting us in the hours of our despair and despondency.

Re-united Congress.

Gentlemen even the darkest cloud is said to have its silver lining and in this vale of sorrow, there is hardly any misfortune which has not both a positive and a negative side. If the United Congress was buried in the *debris* of the old French Garden at Surat, it is re-born to-day in the Kaiser Bag of Lucknow, the garden of the gorgeous King Wajed Ali Shah. After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstandings and the mazes of unpleasant controversies each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realize the fact that united they stand but divided they fall and brothers have at last met brothers and embraced each other with the gush and ardour, peculiar to a reconciliation after a long separation. Blessed are the peace makers. Honour, all honour to those who in this suicidal civil war held the olive branch of peace and glory to the patriotic good sense of the belligerents on both sides who having realized their true position and responsibility have at a psychological moment so wisely buried their hatchets and closed their ranks. There are occasional differences even in the best regulated families and how much wider must be the scope of difference in the vast political field of a country like ours where the people have so little of the power of initiation in their hands and where the causes of misunderstanding and consequent vexation and disappointment are so numerous and so irritating. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing so much disturbs the equanimity of the public mind and embitters public feelings as failure, and in a common cause the failure of one method easily gives a handle to exaggerate the importance of an opposite view, though if the position were reversed, the result might have been still worse. But if there be honesty of motive and singleness of purpose, the widest divergence of opinion need neither frighten nor irritate any reasonable mind. Action and reaction is the law of nature's evolution. Struggle represents animation—as stillness indicates stagnation, and thus even the muddy water of a rushing stream is ever more wholesome than the transparent water of a stagnant pool. In politics healthy opposition indicates the vitality of national life and the disturbances and disruptions that occasionally take place in the life of a nation serve only to clear and purify the atmosphere it breathes and rarify the ether it inhales. In the British constitution there are the contending forces which at times seem so menacing but serve in reality only to cement and strengthen it. The real strength of a nation does not lie in mere smooth work, but in solidarity and compactness when the national interests demand them and in sinking all personal differences as soon as the trumpet-call of duty is sounded to rally round a common cause. It would be most foolish to persist in prejudices in the name of principles and to lose sight

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for a moment, that the great honour bestowed upon me is intended for a personal distinction. I am under no such delusion. I am fully conscious that it is the democratic spirit of this National Organisation which has in its natural evolution sought to vindicate itself by drawing out an old servant of the cause from his retirement in an obscure corner of the country to fill the presidential chair in the twilight of the evening of his life. Gentlemen, if I have not begun by offering you the customary thanks, it is because thanks presuppose some claim to receive a gift, and I frankly confess that I have not sufficient confidence in myself to thank you for the very difficult and delicate position in which you have placed me. However, lest you or anybody else should think that I am "poor even in thanks" I thank you with all the warmth and fervour of a devoted heart for the great honour—the greatest in the gift of the country—which you have conferred on me by calling me to preside over the deliberations of the Thirty first Indian National Congress at Lucknow, the historic capital of Oudh, which played such an important part in the early history of British rule in India—Lucknow, the *Kashala* of the ancients, the city built by Asaf-ud-Daulah and adorned by his successors with magnificent mosques, mausoleums and imambaras and crowned with gilded towers, minarets and cupolas—Lucknow, the centre of the great tornado which swept over India in 1857 in which the brave Lawrence and Nicholson fell and where the gallant Havelock sleeps embalmed in the thrilling memories of a historic siege. Gentlemen, I think I have one indisputable claim to your just and generous consideration. If you have in your choice placed me in this responsible position you are in common fairness bound to extend to me a reasonable amount of support and indulgence so as to enable me to discharge my duties with some measure of success.

Tribute to the Dead.

Ladies and Gentlemen while most people count their gains, we have to count our losses at the end of every year. How sad it is to contemplate that scarcely a year passes away without leaving us the poorer in the ranks of our public men! How fast are the dear old familiar faces on the Congress platform vanishing into the void! Not to speak of the serious losses which the country sustained in her earlier bereavements, only last year we lost three of our tried veterans, the brilliant the versatile the indomitable Pherozeshah Mancharjee Mehta the saintly and devoted Gopal Krishna Gokhale and that silent and steadfast worker who was one of the brave 72 who inaugurated the Congress at Bombay in 1885—Ganga Prasad Varma. And before this old, rickety globe of ours could complete another revolution that "fell sergeant strict in his arrest" has snatched away three of our brave comrades whose loyalty to the country was equalled only by their spirit of self-sacrifice and whose devotion to duty was surpassed only by their extraordinary capacity for work. G. Subramanya Iyer, the founder of the *Hindu* the organizer of the *Mahajan Sabha* the editor of the *Suadesh Mitram* who was the first to lead the plough and turn the first sod on the Congress soil by moving the first resolution of the First Indian National Congress may well be called the maker of Modern Madras; while Daji Abaji Khare who was for about eight years loyally and devotedly associated with our esteemed friend and veteran leader the Hon. Mr. D. I. Wacha as a Joint General Secretary to the Congress was a man of whom any community might be justly proud and whose untimely death is an irreparable loss to the country and the Congress. Lastly, it is with feelings of profound grief which has not yet been touched by the healing hand of Time that I must mention the passing of our gifted and distinguished countryman, one of my predecessors in the chair to which you have called me to-day, Pandit Bishan Narain Das. Brother delegates as the first citizen of Lucknow and the Chairman of the Reception Committee his voice should have been the first to be heard in this *pandal* this afternoon in eloquent welcome extended to us all but it was not to be and his voice has been hushed in the great Silence, and the duty remains with us of offering our respectful tribute to his departed worth. Yet another eminent Indian has recently passed away, who, though not in the Congress, was *with* the Congress all his life. Mr. B. L. Gupta belonged to that distinguished triumvirate who formed the vanguard of the Indian Civil Service in this country and it was he who was the originator, if not the author, of the

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of the real issue involved in a case. Nothing is more common in a game than for players to quarrel over a false move and to take no notice of an impending checkmate. I do not endorse the opinion that a subject people must be somewhat elastic to suit the exigencies of their situation, and when a common cause demands unity of action a practical people cannot afford to quarrel over means but must be prepared to make sacrifices on both sides for the common end which must be placed above every other consideration. In the sphere of organised activities for the benefit of a corporate body there is nothing more disastrous than want of mutual respect, trust and confidence among its members. Where the end is the same the diverse means and methods to attain that end should not betray either parties or individuals into a course of action which defeats that end. A principle divorced from practice is apt to degenerate into a morbid sentiment and for all practical purposes even the noblest of sentiments must at times bend itself to the stern necessities of circumstance and be regulated by a spirit of mutual confidence, toleration, forbearance and even sacrifice. The misfortune is that in the heat of a controversy we often lose sight of the end and missing the real issue substitute the means for the end. A shade of difference in opinion, viewed in an atmosphere of prejudice and passion is often magnified into a wide divergence of principle and the most trusted of comrades easily find themselves ranged on opposite sides, while misunderstanding widens the breach, recriminations embitter the mind and misrepresentations serve to fan the fire into a flame. It was thus that we separated in 1907 and having grown wiser by our experience we have I presume learnt to know each other better. Let us now no longer disparage the old nor despise the young. If youthful zeal and enthusiasm are invaluable assets, the judgment and experience as also the caution and sobriety of the old, are no less useful and indispensable. It is no doubt the brave soldier that fights and wins the battle but even a *Narayani Sena* of old the invincibles in the *Mahabharata*, would be scattered to the winds without a veteran general to command them from behind. Remember, it is the 'Old Congressmen' who have built this organisation given a shape and form to it, worked out its details and inspired the people with the very ideal which is swaying their minds and surging in their thoughts from one end of the country to the other. Believing, as I do, in the evolution of a national life in perpetual succession I have no difficulty in admitting that there is a limit also to caution, wisdom and sobriety beyond which they cannot be exercised without their forfeiting the characteristics of these virtues and without their degenerating into pusillanimity and moral turpitude. There is as much danger in rashness as in imbecility and the one may serve as a cloak for inaction as the other may contribute to wreck the most useful institutions. It should be fairly acknowledged that if the "Old Congressmen" have so far failed to run faster than they have done they have at least done one thing in that they have walked steadily and never stumbled. Men run before they learn to walk and if walking is a slower process running is not certainly a surer method to avoid a fall. It is surely not wisdom to call our elders fools for there are those coming after us who following our precedent, may return the compliment with accumulated interest. Let us therefore give up all cant and like practical men firmly and resolutely yet soberly and discreetly, look the situation in the face, and with heart within and God overhead loyally follow the leaders who, if they have not won the battle, yet have neither fallen back nor betrayed their trust. I most cordially welcome Mr. Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. Motilal Ghose and other brave comrades who repatriated from us at Surat and have been happily restored to us at Lucknow. I rejoice to find that they are after all "of us" and "with us" and let us hope never never to part again (Cheers).

Presidential Pronouncement.

Gentlemen you naturally expect every year your President to make a clear and emphatic pronouncement but you cannot expect your presidents—no not even the tallest among them—to work miracles for you in a three days' session. The ideal of the Congress has long been well defined and no new ideas are needed either to amplify or illustrate it, nor are fresh ideas as abundant as blackberries so that whoever passes by

may pick up any number of them. The country has a number of grievances and the Congress has made certain demands to remove them. It has also decided that it shall use none but constitutional methods for the fulfilment of its demands. Your presidents can only perform the function of the air man by taking a survey of the hostile positions, marking the points of relative strength and weakness and signalling the lines of attack; but, after all you are the gunners who have to fix your batteries, take your aim and actively work at the machines. Your president's pronouncement even at its best can only be a faithful echo of the prevailing sentiments of the country. Lord Morley complained that he could not give us the moon, but we were never so moon struck as to ask for the moon and his Lordship need have no fears that he has given us something more substantial than mere moon shine. Gentlemen, it will be my most earnest endeavour to throw some little light on some of the phases of the present situation, and if I cannot present to you even the faint light of the *Aurora borealis* I shall certainly not presume to allure you by raising to your minds' eye the treacherously dancing flashes of the *Will o' the wisp*. Gentlemen, if you have this time gone a little out of way in choosing your president, that president may be permitted to go a little out of the way of all past precedents in addressing you on the present. I propose to confine myself mainly to one question which is the all absorbing topic of the day—the question of Self Government for India. It is an all embracing problem to the solution of which all other subsidiary questions are mere corollaries. If this one problem could be solved, the other problems would solve themselves. But before we proceed to discuss this question we must have a clear idea of the form of Government under which we are placed, the defects of that form of Government, the disabilities which we suffer therefrom, the system of Government that we want as a substitute for it and our capacity to receive such a substitute.

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT WE LIVE IN.

Despotism.

It is now a matter of history that when a company of merchants introduced British rule in India in the middle of the 18th century, it was an absolutely despotic form of Government that was established in the country. Having regard to the unsettled state of the country and the internal dissensions and disputes not only among the different communities, but also among the people of the same community, any other form of Government would perhaps have been impossible at that time. A despotic form of Government is not necessarily synonymous with a bad government but a beneficent despotism is of the exception and not of the rule. It is not every age or every country that can produce a Rama or Harun ul Rashid, a Charlemagne or an Akbar. The Government of the East India Company over which the British Parliament exercised little or no control, and the so called Board of Control, very little supervision except for their own interest, was marked by nepotism and at its later stage by corruption. In spite of repeated warnings of Parliament, education was neglected, justice was perfunctorily administered and the strong were permitted with impunity to oppress the weak. The Company which had developed small factories into vast territories naturally regarded their unprecedented acquisition as a huge commercial enterprise and considered the sovereign administration of the country as of lesser importance than the development of their trade and the increase of their profits. They viewed their own interest more than the interest of the people. It is a wonder that such a system of Government could have lasted so long and surely it lasted long enough to meet with a violent end. (Hear, hear)

Benevolent Despotism.

After a hundred years of mis rule it was at last overthrown by a military rising which transferred the Government of the country from the Company to the Crown. From this time a system of Government was established in the country which gave altogether a new complexion to the administration. This Government was designated a "benevolent despotism"—an expression which though not exactly a contradiction in terms, was sufficient to indicate that the form of Government was still essentially a

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despotism though tempered by generous and benevolent considerations. It was this Government which actuated by its benevolent intentions introduced by slow degrees various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalised the administration and widened the views and deepened the loyalty of the people. It fostered liberal education, established justice, created public confidence in the integrity of the administration and restored peace and order throughout the country. In its gradual development it introduced though in a limited form Self Government in the local concerns of the people, admitted the children of the soil to a limited extent into the administration of the country and reformed the Councils by introducing an appreciable element of representation in them. It has annihilated time and space by the construction of rail ways and the establishment of telegraphic communication throughout the country. It has established a form of administration which in its integrity and purity can well vie with any other civilised country in the world while the security of life and property which it conferred was until recently a boon of which any people may justly be proud. All this a benevolent despotism has accomplished.

Bureaucracy.

But here it stopped and after having exhausted all the resources which a personal benevolence could supply it has slowly and imperceptibly yielded to the infirmities of its nature, and by a process of natural evolution has resolved itself into a system of barren and sterilizing bureaucracy. Despotism has done in this country what despotism has done elsewhere and if it has failed to do more it is because its nature could not have permitted it to do more. In the exercise of its beneficent influence it reached a stage and attained a height beyond which it was not possible for despotism to ascend. The bureaucracy which now rules the country is despotism condensed and crystallised. In it the Service is so firmly and indissolubly combined with the State that for all practical purposes the one may be said to be completely merged in the other—a combination which is infinitely more dangerous than the combination of the Judicial and the Executive functions of which we have heard so much. It is certainly not accountable to the people and the service and the state being one and the same it is responsible only to itself. It is essentially conservative in its temperament and thoroughly unprogressive in its character. Its efficiency is indisputable its honesty and integrity beyond all question, but it is bound hand and foot to form a precedent lacking in life and soul. It can contract but it cannot expand. It holds all the threads of the administration within the hollow of its palm and can ill afford either to release or to relax any one of them. It is extremely jealous of its powers and intolerant of criticism. It sincerely wishes to see the people happy and contented, only it cannot allow them to grow. It has its idea of beauty and its Chinese shoe to give effect to it however painful to its subject the operation may be. Like Narcissus of old it is so much entranced with the loveliness of its own shadow that it has neither the leisure nor the inclination to contemplate beauty in others.

The New Spirit

But the people have completely outgrown this system and a new spirit has arisen in the country. Call it visionary call it impatient idealism call it intoxication if you choose that spirit is the manifestation of a democratic force which is transforming the destinies of an old world to new order of things (Cheers). Under the pressure of this irresistible force time honoured kingdoms and constitutions are crumbling to pieces and giving place to new ones and hereditary monarchs of ancient and even celestial origin are quietly taking their exit as on a stage without shedding a tear or a drop of blood. Portugal Turkey Persia and China all have felt the breath of this force. It is agitating Egypt and is pulsating the life of India. In India it has fortunately been of normal growth. This new spirit may be impulsive but it is perfectly genuine and intensely patriotic. If sympathetically treated it may be directed in a proper channel, but it would be unwise either to ignore or try to repress it. Old ideas are changing faster than one can realize and it is no fault of the Indian people if they are unable to reconcile themselves to a patriarchal or a paternal form of Government. The present form of

Government, whatever its claims for the maintenance of an orderly administration may be, is more or less an anachronism. Sir Henry Cotton who recalls with just pride that for three generations his family has been associated with the bureaucratic service in India said that "the Indian Civil Service, as at present constituted, is doomed." While still in service he formulated a scheme of reconstruction which the Indian Public Service Commission of 1887 considered as "visionary." Now that another Royal Commission has been appointed to enquire into the Indian Public Services Sir Henry Cotton has again returned to the charge. Writing in the *Contemporary Review* and commenting on the terms of reference to the Commission, which apparently assume the existing constitution as the permanent basis of Indian administration, Sir Henry Cotton says—'But what is wanted now is no scheme for bolstering up the decaying fabric of a service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return.'

In a despotic form of Government everything is done for the people and nothing by the people. Its greatest drawback is that it makes the people whom it governs impotent to help themselves. It may make a people perfectly happy but it cannot make them resourceful nor even contented, self-reliant and manly in their life and conduct. Such a people must always be a burden to the State and the 'white man's burden' of which we hear so much is the creation of this despotic form of Government, and those who complain of India being a *nuissance of the Empire* ought to remember that it is the accumulated errors of this form of Government during the last hundred and fifty years and more. Even in a benevolent despotism there is but one patriot and that patriot is either the despot or the close bureaucracy in which the Government is vested. As in a patriarchal family, the subjects of a despotic Government are of a stunted growth and are all more or less like spoiled children incapable of either helping themselves or helping the *Pater familia*.

Bureaucracy nearing its end.

But to its credit it must be recorded that this benevolent despotism has done one thing—it has prepared its own coffin and has written on it its own epitaph with its own hand. Despotism was wholly repugnant to the British instinct and entirely foreign to the British Constitution and what it did, therefore, was to prepare a curious admixture of two incongruous substances, a bureaucratic constitution leavened with democratic ideas, which can never coalesce but can serve only to neutralize each other. Paradoxical as it may seem and strange as it may sound, this despotism has throughout consciously or unconsciously and perhaps in fits of absent-mindedness, worked up to its own subversion, and like the fabulous Phoenix, in anticipation of its allotted cycle of years, prepared its own nest of spices, set fire to it and flapped that fire into a flame with its own wings singing its melodious song to consume itself into ashes out of which to rise again in a glorious re-birth. (Applause.) From the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 down to Lord Morley's Reform of 1909 the British Parliament has not taken a single step which was not calculated finally to overthrow this despotic form of Government. The education given to the people, the system of local self-government introduced into the country and the elective principle recognised in the higher Councils of the Empire have all tended to undermine the old system of Government which it would be a vain attempt now either to rebuild or to repair.

A Chapter of Mistakes.

The bureaucracy have, however, discovered the mistakes of their predecessors. But it is not as easy to rectify as to discover mistakes. We too may have discovered many a mistake of our grand fathers. But what avails it to cry over spilt milk? It is more than vaguely suggested that it was a mistake to have opened the eyes of the Indian people. I fully admit that from the point of view of these critics it was a great mistake—the greatest indeed ever committed by a despotic Government, benevolent or otherwise. It was a great mistake to have issued the Education Despatch of 1854, and it was a great blunder to have confirmed that mistake by the establishment of Universities at Calcutta in 1857, at Bombay and Madras in 1858, at Lahore in 1882 and at Allahabad in 1887.

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It was a mistake to have granted liberty to the press and freedom of speech throughout the country it was a mistake to have introduced local self government in 1884, and it was a greater mistake to have reformed the Councils in 1903 and again in 1910 It is a chapter nay a whole volume of mistakes which have been committed by successive Parliaments and Administrations which I am afraid, it is too late either to amend or rectify It is the instinct of the British people and the spirit of the British constitution which led the British Parliament to this long series of mistakes But there has always been a counteracting force in India and for aught we know but for these mistakes both India and England might have met with greater difficulties In recent years there has always been a tendency to cry halt and every step forced upon the bureaucracy in the forward march by the irresistible current of events has been followed by a paroxysm of regret and all that the Government has been able to do to retain its ancient character and at the same time to keep pace with the pressing demands of the ceaseless march of time has invariably presented the appearance of the texture of the faithful Penelope unravelling by night what is woven by day Vain attempts are these The tide has set in and it will not roll back under any human command You may and have to adjust and re-adjust your wind mill occasionally but you cannot turn back the course of the river The best and only remedy therefore now is not to go back but to press forward not clinging to an obsolete and worn out institution which is no longer suited to the present condition of the country but firmly and cautiously adapt the constitution to the requirements of the time and adjust it to the growing demands of the people Every declaration made by the Government every report of commissions and committees having a bearing upon the present unrest and every legislative measure passed to cope with the disturbed state of the country bear testimony to the fact that there is a struggle going on between a benevolent despotism and an overgrown people who with all their defects and shortcomings are no longer satisfied with the present system On the one hand there is manifested in almost every direction a marked tendency in the people to break through the leading strings by which they have been held so long and assert their constitutional rights and privileges as citizens of the British Empire and on the other hand there is an equally persistent attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to maintain its prestige and authority

A CONFLICT.

It is a case of clear conflict between the forces of an old constitution and the new spirit and as the inevitable result of such a conflict a state of things has arisen for which neither may be wholly responsible but from which both have equally to suffer although the presumption in such a case is always in favour of the people according to all political philosophers, "I am not one of those" says Burke "who think that the people are never wrong They have been so frequently and outrageously both in other countries and in this But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people In quoting this dictum of Burke with approbation Lord Morley who has recently dealt more with India than any other living British statesman adds— Nay experience perhaps justifies him in going further When popular discontents are prevalent something has generally been found amiss in the constitution or the administration And truly does Burke observe The people have no interest in disorder When they go wrong it is their error and not their crime (Cheers) Then the great political philosopher continues in the words of Sully which his biographer passionately enjoins that both practical politicians and political students should bind about their necks, and write upon the tables of their hearts — "The revolutions that come to pass in great states are not the result of chance nor of popular caprice * * * As for the populace it is never from a passion that it rebels but from impatience of sufferings It is in the nature of a bureaucratic administration to have absolute confidence in its own judgment and little respect for the opinions of others The British Government as established in India at the present day has no doubt long ceased to be an absolute despotism nor can it be described as a popular Government A cursory examination of its policies and its

practices will disclose the nature of this conflict and the stage at which it has arrived due as much to the process of natural evolution as to the legitimate sequence of events to which that policy has so largely contributed. Gentlemen be it understood that we are here to criticise Government and not to sing its praises. If, therefore we have more to refer to its defects and shortcomings it is not to be presumed that we are wholly insensible to its many good points or are unable to appreciate them. Nor do I feel pressed to enter upon any vindication of our loyalty to the Throne as it is above all cavil or criticism.

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EDUCATION.

To take up the question of education first as it is the foremost problem in the evolution of a nation. Ever since the Crown took up the reins of government it was actuated by a board and liberal policy of educating the people and elevating them in the scale of nations. Worried and wearied with the evasive policy of the East India Company the Board of Control under the guidance of a far sighted statesman Sir Charles Wood afterwards Lord Halifax, issued the memorable Despatch of 1854 which is now known as the great charter of Education in India. In pursuance to this Despatch a University was established in 1857 in the then Capital of the Empire.

But the mutiny having broken out almost simultaneously a pretext was easily found to propose a change of policy. Sir Frederick Halliday the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal came to the rescue and in a letter to Lord Ellenborough who was then the President of the Board of Control neatly disposed of the objections raised. Sir Frederick wrote — On the question of the connection between education and the rebellion our wisdom no less than our duty is to persevere in what we have begun and not to turn our backs upon Behar or any other parts of our territory because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement. It is certain however that both the difficulty and the danger are exaggerated and look imposing only to those who keep at a distance from them and view them through the delusive mist of prejudice and misinformation. As to difficulty, the progress of Bengal within the memory of living witness is a proof of the aptitude of the people and of their plastic docility. And though it is not uncommon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of similar consequences in future the error of this opinion is like that of a man who after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of gun powder to all kinds of dangerous influences and having by good luck and in spite of bad management, long escaped without an accident should at last when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place blame neither the gun powder nor his own rashness and indiscretion but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of the many little sparks flying about and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences. No more statesmanlike view of the situation or a more crushing reply could have been advanced and the Government of Lord Canning made a firm stand against the hysteric cry of an alarmist crowd. I have purposely quoted this long extract for it will be seen that the same cry has again been raised in recent years and has contributed not a little to the shaping of the present educational policy of the Government with this difference that there is neither a Halliday nor a Canning to take a dispassionate perspective of the situation and boldly adhere to the noble policy of 1854. In 1858 two more Universities were established in Bombay and Madras and in the following year another Despatch was issued under the authority of the crown reaffirming the great Despatch of 1854 and laying down in clear and emphatic terms that greater impetus should be given to education in the future than had been done in the past, that more colleges and schools should be established throughout the country that more systematic and sustained efforts should be made for the education of the masses and that an unstinted measure of encouragement should be extended to private enterprise towards furtherance of education by state grants and scholarships. It has to be noted that having regard to the aptitude of the people and to the extraordinary zeal and eagerness evinced by them for the spread of education it was further laid down, that Government

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should be reluctant to open Government institutions whenever private institutions could be expected or encouraged to do the work Under the inspiring influence of this noble policy a great impetus was given to the cause of education and colleges and schools rapidly increased throughout the country This policy continued in its uninterrupted course till 1882 when under the Government of Lord Ripon another Education Commission was appointed for the further development of the educational system Lord Ripon considering the inadequate number of Universities conceived the idea of adding two more Universities one of which he himself established at Lahore in 1882, and the other was established by his successor at Allahabad in 1887

But here dropped the curtain over the educational progress of India The growing clamour of the people for increased rights and privileges and their incessant demand for participation in the administration of the country led a nervous bureaucracy to regard education in the same light as it was regarded in 1857 The people having their minds and ideas expanded by Western education were aspiring to Western institutions It was indeed the dawning of the proudest day of England which Macaulay in his prophetic vision had foreseen and anticipated nearly seventy years before But unfortunately for India and England with the advent of Lord Curzon the educational policy of the Government underwent a marked transformation

Lord Curzon came in 1899 with twelve problems in his pocket for the execution of which he obtained unfortunately for himself as well as for India a further extension of his office during which the brilliant Viceroy in the name of efficiency set back the hand of progress in almost every direction education receiving his foremost attention It was a veritable Pandora's Box that he earned which let loose all the forces of unrest dislocating the existing order of things, reversing past policies and filling the minds of the people with concern and anxiety hope alone remaining Here were sown the seeds of the discontent which a Milton might well have invoked his muse to sing and from which both the Government and the country have been reaping so abundantly His educational policy of 1902 culminating in the Universities Act of 1904 dealt a death blow to the further expansion of education and by its stringent rules and regulations sapped all indigenous enterprise for its further development It was argued that the previous policy had served to extend the surface at the sacrifice of depth and that a shearing process was necessary to check all superfluous growth Pruning is undoubtedly good but the use of the pruning knife on a growing plant before it has put forth abundant leaves and branches is an operation which is calculated more to destroy than to improve These rules and regulations would have been unobjectionable if only equal care had been taken for the proper accommodation of the ever increasing influx of boys pressing every year for admission into the existing institutions Hundreds of young men are debarred from the colleges and thousands of boys are thrown out of schools and turned adrift aimless and unequipped into this world to fight out the battle of life It is an undeniable fact that within the narrow scope of the present regulations some improvements have been effected and larger grants have in recent years been made for education but it cannot be overlooked that nearly 40 per cent of these grants are absorbed in supervision and superintendence while general education as well as the lower educational services are being practically starved Depth may be preferred to surface but a top heavy construction is always unsafe to any structure even with the deepest foundation which human ingenuity may devise In a country which with the exception of Russia is larger than the continent of Europe there are now no more than 150 Colleges of all sorts and a little over 1300 High Schools and 127000 Primary Schools for the education of the masses for a population of over 255 Millions and yielding a percentage of barely 7 literate men out of this vast population It may be noted here that two thirds of these Colleges and three fourths of the High Schools are private Institutions This is the sum total of educational progress made under a benevolent despotism during a period of 160 years and imagination fails to pierce into the dim and distant future when even half the population of this vast continent shall

be so far advanced as to be able to read and write their names That is how education stands in the country after more than one and half a century of British rule and yet a modest Bill introduced by a Congressman for Elementary Education was thrown out with a few complimentary platitudes The people demand a general diffusion of elementary education for the mass as preferable to no education while Government insists upon better education for a few rather than wide-spread light for the many No one can reasonably object to the quality of education for the few being improved but a belief has gained ground in the public mind not without some show of reason that Government has begun to view the educational problem with suspicion and distrust and to reverse the engine for a backward motion There is however no room for doubt that under the plea for creating a serene atmosphere of education political considerations have been largely introduced in the department of Education In driving out the wooden chip the iron nail has been thrust in Teachers have turned into spies and not in few cases are Superintendents suspected of having assumed the role of C I D officers The sanctity of the temples of learning has been violated and our boys and young men are brought up in the unhealthy atmosphere of what may be called in secure jails This the people sorely resent and here the first conflict has taken place between a sensitive subject race and an autocratic Government each believing the other to be in the wrong and neither trusting the other either for mutual understanding or for a rational settlement of the question

The Patna University Bill which empowers the Chancellor to deal with any matter connected with the University in any manner that may seem to him to be fit and proper after making an enquiry to be made in any manner that he may think fit places university education in a large province entirely under the arbitrary authority of the Lieutenant Governor of Behar and it makes the spread of high education impossible by practically prohibiting the establishment of new colleges

THE ADMINISTRATION

The next point of conflict lies in the administration itself It is a preposterous attempt to compel a child to hup when he is able to speak and force him to crawl on his knees when he is able to walk on his legs It is no rebellion in the adult members of a family to exercise their discretion and judgment and even to interfere to some extent in the management of its affairs and a reasonable *Pater familia* ought cheerfully to accept a change which is calculated only to relieve and not to dethrone him What is true of a family is also true of a paternal government A government must always conform itself to its changing environments and adapt itself to the ideas and requirements of the community which it is called upon to govern The highest claim of British rule in India is not founded upon its military strength but upon its moral grandeur Security of life and property is no doubt one of the highest attributes of a settled government but this attribute is more or less to be found among backward uncivilised governments anxious for their own existence A pure form of administration of justice is the bedrock of a civilised Government and it is this administration of justice which more than anything else has laid broad and deep the foundations of British rule in India resting upon the affection and confidence of the people Anything which tends to undermine that foundation is therefore fraught with danger to the superstructure As men are born free they naturally value their life and liberty infinitely more than their property For property is a man's accident while liberty is his birth right In every country therefore the administration of criminal justice which affects life and liberty is viewed with much greater interest than the administration of civil justice and that is why even in this country lawyers find the criminal branch of their profession more lucrative than the civil one In fact the administration of criminal justice in any country is more a political question than a mere settlement of private disputes The greatest defect in the administration of criminal justice in this country lies in the fusion and combination of the judicial and the executive functions—a system in which the prosecutor and the judge the man

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who works up a charge and the man who sits in judgment over that charge are rolled into one. For thirty years the Congress has cried hoarse for the separation of this unholy combination: hundreds of cases from unimpeachable and unchallenged records have been cited from year to year to illustrate the baneful results of the system which is calculated more than anything else to shake the confidence of the people in the integrity of the administration of justice. Cases have occurred—and they are not few and far between—where racial considerations have outweighed the demands of justice and the life of an Indian has not received greater considerations than that of a crab or a tortoise. There are of course men who are strong enough to challenge and drive discontent underground but no one has the power to see underground and watch the secret progress which such discontent silently works in its subterranean course. One complete generation has passed away since the Indian National Congress first drew the attention of Government to the danger underlying this inequitable system. One Viceroy considered his duty discharged by calling the proposal of the Congress a Counsel of perfection. Two successive Secretaries of State vied with each other in their pious wish to inaugurate this reform while at least one Indian administrator denounced the existing system as being unworthy of rational beings. But the system still continues and seems to possess a charmed life which defies both a natural and a violent death. Sir Harvey Adamson was reported to have actually gone so far as to submit a scheme for the proposed reform in 1908 and all sorts of speculations have been afloat in recent years but no body knows where the proposal sticks and where it now rests—whether on the dusty upper shelves of the Indian Secretariat at Simla or in the Archives of the Indian Office at White Hall. Wherever it may be its fate has so far been determined by the spirit of bureaucratic rule nervous to part with the narrowest shred of authority. If this one reform had been carried out one half of the causes of the present discontent would have vanished and it is just possible that the ugly developments with which the Government is at present confronted might never have appeared.

The Press Act and the Liberty of the Press

The next point of conflict between the bureaucracy and the people has reference to the Liberty of the Press. The press is entirely a Western institution so firmly ingrafted with Western education and incorporated with Western methods of administration that it is now impossible to retain the one and remove the other. In every civilised country the Press has played the double role of the educator of the public and the interpreter to the Government. In India the Press with all its defects and lapses as well as its numerous difficulties and disabilities has played an important part in the evolution of National life and its chequered history is no mean evidence of the firm hold it has over the public mind and the sustaining energies of a growing people. It is not necessary to pursue that history. Suffice it to say that since the repeal of Lord Lytton's Gagging Act of 1878 the Indian Press steadily grew into a power which with a little more sympathetic treatment might easily have been converted into a useful adjunct of the administration. Unfortunately however the Anglo-Indian Press began to be jealous of its formidable rival and the bureaucracy grew nervous of its strength. An ugly development for which the Indian Press was no more responsible than for the collision which took place at this time between the *Canterbury* and the *Victoria* in the Atlantic furnished an excuse and afforded an opportunity for again muzzling the Press in a way unprecedented in the history of any civilised country where a public Press exists. The Press Act of 1910 conceived in a spirit of repression has reduced the Indian Press from its position as an independent critic of the Government to that of an institution entirely dependent upon sufferance. Within this short period of less than seven years there had been a regular carnival of Press prosecutions in which newspapers have been suppressed, printing presses confiscated and their securities forfeited to an extent which has bewildered the public and alarmed the journalists. According to a statement furnished by Sir Reginald Craddock in February last there were no less than six Press prosecutions and in no less than five cases securities of newspapers were enhanced and no less than two hundred and twenty newspapers both English and vernacular ceased publication since the outbreak of the war and up to that

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date The liberty of the Indian Press is practically gone and the highest tribunals in the land have declared themselves powerless to protect it. When the Act was passed the extreme rigour of the measure was admitted, but an assurance was given that it would be administered with care and consideration. Whether that assurance has been honoured more in its breach than in its observance may be left to the judgment of the public. And last, not least, an extraordinary woman, Irish by birth, English by marriage and Indian by adoption, has been caught in the meshes of this Act and the provisions of the Defence Act are set in operation to coerce and restrain her. One Government has under cover of the latter, interdicted Mrs. Besant from profaning its sacred territories with the touch of her feet, while another Government, acting under the former, not content with foresting the security of an old press, has demanded an exorbitant security for her paper which threatens it with extinction. Gentlemen, how fast doth contagion spread! Before I could finish writing these pages another Government has issued orders prohibiting her at the eleventh hour not to attend a religious conference held within its territories. I should not be surprised if the British public were to doubt the accuracy of this statement. The lame excuse offered by the C. P. Government for its extraordinary action has, however, failed to satisfy the Indian public. Mrs. Besant is as yet free—I use the word subject to correction—to live in British India and to travel over British India, but not to cross the Vindhya Chains and touch the sacred soil of Bombay and the Central Provinces. Are Bombay and the Central Provinces outside British India? She is charged by the Madras Government with matter seditious printed at her press. The Madras High Court has distinctly found that there was nothing seditious in her writing. Two High Courts have concurrently held that there may be illegal forfeitures under this Act and yet they were powerless to grant any relief. The appellate powers of the High Courts under the Act are a delusion and a snare. Yet there seems to be no disposition on the part of the Government either to withdraw or to modify this retrograde measure, although where a necessity for the bureaucracy arises a Bill may be passed at one sitting of the council and a Validating Act rushed through to legalise its illegal proceedings. So much for the Law Member's assurances and promises upon the strength of which the Indian members of the Council were led to vote for this dangerous enactment in their desire to help the Government at a critical moment. We may not see eye to eye with Mrs. Besant in many matters, but our hearts go forth to her in her trials and tribulations which not only affect her personal interests but are also a standing menace to the liberties of the Indian subjects of His Majesty. What is Mrs. Besant's offence? Is it that she loves India as she loves her own native land? What is her offence? Is it that her womanly instinct has led her to raise her manly voice in defence of the rights and liberties of a subject race, whose present condition, as contrasted with its ancient civilisation and departed glories, has found a place in her sympathies and got a hold upon her imagination, to which many people of her race are either blind or impervious? The days of chivalry are gone and even womanhood is no protection against bureaucratic insensibilities. If she is seditious, why not try her for sedition in an open court where, if convicted, she will cease to be idolised as a martyr? I hope the matter will not rest here, but will be carried beyond the seas and heard in a free country and by a free people before whose tribunal even an heir apparent to the Throne bows as low as the humblest subject of the realm to receive his judgment. The shrieks of a dying press, which have been so far drowned in the tumults of a devastating war, will not then go altogether unheeded. Laws may be enacted here to stifle the voice of public opinion, but a great nation nurtured on the lap of freedom cannot long tolerate a method of administration which is so entirely repugnant to its instinct and tradition. It only requires to be correctly informed and duly impressed. It may be difficult to move it; but once in motion even the omnipotent power of the bureaucracy will not avail to arrest its onward march towards the establishment of freedom in this land.

The sufferings of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak are well known to the public. I am here neither to defend nor to denounce him. The latest proceedings which were instituted against him at Poona have, however, raised a grave issue which cannot be passed

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over I cannot persuade myself to believe that in initiating these proceedings the authorities were actuated by any unworthy motive. But I deeply regret that Government was ill advised in taking them at a time and under circumstances where its action was liable to be misconstrued. In disposing of this case Sir Stanley Batchelor has enunciated a law the correctness of which seems to be open to grave doubts. He says that the condemnation of the Civil Service *en bloc* is tantamount to a condemnation of authority, as the service is an agent of that authority. Carried to its legitimate consequences this dictum would be a bar to any criticism against any of the services. The Criminal Intelligence Department is at present in closer touch with the Government than even the Civil Service and may be regarded as such a more accredited agent of the Government. And what is there to prevent the principle here enunciated from being applied to that department or to the Police in general and for the matter of that to the village chowkidars? The law of Agency cannot apply to the relation between the Crown and its servants. Some years back this question was pointedly raised when Sir George Campbell who was not inaptly called the Tiberius of the Indian Civil Service charged the *Hindu Patriot* with ill will towards Government for its strong criticism of the Civil Service. The late Kristodas Pal most forcibly and faithfully drew this distinction between the state and the service. He said — The words ill will to Government are not however explicit. Is the word Government in the phrase intended to mean the Queen's government for the Local Administration?—the ruling power or the executive agency?—the Sovereign mistress of the Empire or her officers in the country? None is better aware than His Honour at the Supreme Lower and the administrative authority are quite distinct and no where is this distinction made so broadly and clearly as in England. When for instance Mr Disraeli denounced the other day the present Government of Her Majesty as blundering and plundering it would be a gross perversion of language to interret its imputation into 'ill will to Government, that is the Sovereign authority the Queen herself.' * * * It would be impertinent in me to remark that if criticisms of public men and measures be construed into ill will to Government there is not a single journal in this country with the slightest pretence to independence which would not be open to this charge. In our own times, the fulminations of Sir Edward Carson inciting the Ulstermen to stand against the established government in England are still fresh in the minds of the public and yet this leader of the Orangemen was not considered unworthy of receiving an invitation to a conference from the King himself. In India by a strange irony of fate even the long established principles of law easily yield to much wider interpretation and judges are not wanting who hold that a sharp criticism of even a member of the ruling race is equivalent to a contempt of the Government itself. Gentlemen the ill starred definition of *disaffection* has died out but here arises another alarming dictum which should engage your serious attention.

The Arms Act

The Indian Arms Act is another source of irritation which has estranged the feeling between the people and the governing class. Apart from the invidious and irritating character of this measure it has emasculated a whole nation degraded them not only in their own estimation but also in the estimation of other races not in any way superior to them and reduced them to a condition of absolute helplessness. It has stunted the growth of a people, dwarfed its mental stature and debased its moral character by depriving it of its sense of national self respect. It has reduced it to the position of political *pariahs* smarting under disgrace and without any sense of responsibility (hear hear) Maharajah Jabbar Jung Bahadur may not carry a single revolver for his own protection but his driver Jones may have any number of them for his pastime for purpose of illicit sale and for shooting not only plicsants but also sometimes a poor Indian peasant whom he may easily mistake for a pig. But all bad measures are like the devil's engine which must at one time or other recoil back on him who uses it and this is what has happened. It is as easy to govern a country by disarming its entire population as to convert a whole country into a jail.

Anarchism has reared its head and there has been a recrudescence of lawlessness in some part of the country. Dastardly assassinations are committed in crowded cities in broad daylight and daring robberies are committed like candle light performances in an Opera House. The reply to all this which has so far been vouchsafed is that the people are cowards and are unable to help themselves. But whose fault is it if the people are cowards and unable to help themselves? Is it of the people who have been made cowards and helpless or of those who have made them so? It is quite refreshing to hear of people seriously advised to arm themselves with brickbats and bamboo lathies to face an armed band of robbers and assassins equipped with Martini rifles and Mauser revolvers. Example is said to be better than precept and those who indulge in ludicrous advice of this sort would do infinitely better to set an example themselves before they can persuade others to follow them. Even Hercules did not venture to challenge the Larnian Hydra without his club. The Arms Act has been practically reduced to a dead letter, for the lawless few are never in want of any firearms, but it is the law abiding many that have been deprived of the use of them. A great empire and a little mud are said to go ill together. And where the spirit of confidence is wanting in an administration, its means and measures must be weak and self contradictory and thus ultimately defeat its own end.

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THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT AND INTERNMENTS

And now, where other repressive measures have failed to restore peace and order in the country, a deadlier instrument has been put into requisition. A desperate situation no doubt calls for a drastic remedy and no one has a right to complain if Government is obliged to take an extreme precautionary measure in view of a conflagration which is now devastating all the five continents of the world. The Defence of India Act like the Defence of the Realm Act in England was no doubt necessitated by the exigencies of the situation, but the purposes to which it is being used appear to be entirely foreign to the spirit and outside the scope of this extraordinary enactment, while the safeguards provided in the home measure have been wholly dispensed with in its operation in this country. Again when the Act was passed an assurance was not wanting that it would be administered with great care and consideration. It was undoubtedly an emergency Act necessitated by the extraordinary circumstances which suspended the ordinary course of law and vested the administration of justice in certain cases entirely in the executive Government of the country.

Gentlemen the sting of every repressive measure is in its tail. There is a small clause in these enactments which passes without any debate in the legislative council authorizing the executive Government to frame rules to give effect to the operation of such a measure. These rules hatched in secret beyond the ken of the established legislature and beyond the scope of public criticism, suddenly emanate full panoplied like Minerva springing out of Jupiter's head. These rules sometimes thrice the size and volume of the Act itself govern the proceedings. In the case of the Defence of India Act, Section 2 provides this brief little authority which is now deciding the fate not only of so many young men but also of some of the public men in the country without a trial and without a hearing. The Act provides the slender safeguards of special tribunal final in its decision, but the rules have taken away even this safeguard in cases of internments and interdictions provided by clause (f) of section 2 of the enactment. A man may invoke the aid of the tribunal if he violates the rules but not when rules are enforced against him. It may be no injustice done to characterize it as "Jedburgh Justice." The Defence of India Act is essentially a war measure and although the expression "Safety of India" is introduced in its preamble it clearly indicates such safety as may be jeopardised only by the war conditions with the enemy. It never could have been intended to cover public peace and tranquility in the internal administration of the country for which ample provisions already exist in the adjective law of the land. Is there any evidence that the assassinations, dastardly as they are perpetrated mostly against Indian police officers and some of which took place even before the Serajevo-outrage, have any connection with German intrigue, or is there anything to show that

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the property plundered in course of armed brigandage find their way or are even intended to find their way to the German Exchequer? The assassination of Earl Mayo and Chief Justice Norman and even the more recent murders of Rand and Ayerst and of Judge Jackson did not necessitate such a measure. It is clear therefore that the Defence of India Act was never intended for internal administration at home but only to govern external relations with the enemy countries abroad. But how sad it is to contemplate that it has been so widely diverted from its legitimate scope, and how are its provisions being applied in India! A secret murder perpetrated and burglary committed, and, in fact every piece of a diabolical crime whether committed before or after the outbreak of hostilities where the criminals cannot be detected and punished under the ordinary law of the land are made the occasion for the use of this lawless law. Where an accused person is tried and acquitted by a court of justice he is good for a capture under the provisions of this Act. In one province alone nearly 600 young men have already been arrested, a considerable number of whom have already been domiciled in different parts of the country while others are passing through their purgatory in the gloomy cells of Dallanda House preparatory to the receipt of their judgment. These proceedings are generally believed to be based upon the informations supplied by the spies whose occupation would be gone if their activities could not be maintained. We are told that the final judgment in these cases is vested in an officer who is fit to be a High Court Judge. Yet but the misfortune is that after all he is not a High Court Judge and that makes a world wide difference. He does not breathe the atmosphere of a High Court he is not swayed by the considerations of a High Court and he has not the means and materials of a High Court Judge and it is no consolation to the people to learn that he is fit to be a High Court Judge. Then it would be something if this would be High Court Judge were allowed to dispose of these cases in the presence of the accused persons sitting even *in camera*. Even Rogers Casement charged with the blackest of crimes—the charge of high treason and conspiracy with the enemy of the King—had an open trial and a right of appeal. Are the detainees under the Defence of India Act guilty of more heinous crimes and misdemeanour? Then the certificate of a District Officer or of a Divisional Commissioner affords no protection against the report of spies. Anarchism is the common enemy of mankind throughout the world. In every country and every age civilized humanity has refused to recognize the brotherhood of the secret murderer and the dastardly assassin and none but an anarchist need defend or support an anarchist. But a general crusade against a community in the name of anarchism is justified neither by reason, nor logic nor considerations of expediency. The rats are a recognized nuisance and for aught we know they may be also responsible for the plague and the pestilence. But if the rats are so sly as to elude our grasp and so subtle as not to come into the cage laid for them no man in his senses and even under the greatest provocation should so far forget himself as to be induced to set fire to the house to get rid of these pests.

THE COLOUR BAR

An almost insurmountable colour bar has been drawn up that runs through almost every department of the state which the children of the soil are forbidden to cross. The entire administration is divided into two compartments, one Imperial and the other Provincial. The boxes are all reserved and it is only the pit which is open to the people. In the Civil Service in the Educational Service and in the Medical Service everywhere there is a sharp racial distinction irrespective of qualification and competency, which is as arbitrary as it is galling to the feelings and sentiments of the people. Competition, the most effective test of merit has been superseded by nomination, and offices are largely distributed as mere patronage. The services are visibly deteriorating and strange as it may sound a Government which finds in the caste system of the people such a serious obstacle to their national advancement is sedulously building up an official caste almost as rigid and as exclusive as the Brahmanical hierarchy ever was. The officials have generally lost all touch with the people and there is now no greater passport to public employment than a hereditary claim which grows by what it feeds on.

Fusion is the first principle of national growth, but disintegration is the policy of a bureaucracy to counteract that growth

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Immigration

Gentlemen, it is with a sense of pain, shame and humiliation that I approach the question of immigration and indentured labour. India, the granary of the world, is unable to maintain her surplus population and thousands of her children, like her raw materials, are sent away to other countries for employment for the bare necessities of life. The immigrants so absolutely necessary for the development of the resources of South Africa, Australia and Canada are treated there as helots and India is regarded day throughout the civilized world as the recruiting ground for *coolies* necessary for manual labour. I do not hesitate to denounce this degrading system as the last relic of slavery within the British Empire. The question is said to be not free from difficulties, but all these difficulties are due more than in the relation of Great Britain in regard to her self-governing colonies than to the condition of India herself. Mr. Gandhi's heroic struggles in South Africa are fresh in the minds of our people and Lord Hardinge's effort to ameliorate the condition of the Indian settlers in the British Colonies evoked more sharp criticism than active sympathy in the United Kingdom. It is galling that peoples of yesterday who have scarcely a tradition of their own should be permitted to treat as slaves people whose civilization goes back to the morning of this world. I, Lord Gladstone, in opening the Parliament of the South African Union only a few years ago, reminded them of this fact and bore striking testimony to the worth of the Indian people. He said—'I have made special duty of the Indian history and have later visited India. I wish more South Africans could go there and by so doing rise to the highest appreciation of what the Indians were. They would then think less of India as a country which sends its coolies to the South African Coast. In fact India has developed perhaps far above the line attained by some parts of the British Empire in its civilization and efforts to rise to a higher life. But what avails such testimony? Slaves at home can never be treated as free men abroad. I use the word in the sense in which Mill has used it. "They are slaves," says Mill, "who cannot help themselves. Complete Reciprocity and Retaliation are the only remedies for this degrading humiliation inflicted upon our people and Home Rule alone can furnish the necessary prescription. So long as the Canadian, the South African and the Australian are free to settle in India and also to find their way to the public services of the country, no tinkering measure, no controlling wages will solve the question.

The Swadeshi Movement and Industrial Development.

Gentlemen, if the ill-fated Swadeshi Movement had been directed in its proper channel and not checked as an unhealthy growth, the question of the industrial development of India, which has now attracted the anxious attention of Government, might have admitted of a much easier solution. The war has disclosed that in 1905 the Indian Nationalists declared hostilities not against Great Britain but against Germany and Austria and that if the Authorities in India had taken a more dispassionate and far-sighted view of the situation, German and Austrian trade in India would have died ten years ago and without a naval blockade. The fault, however, did not lie wholly with the Government but the people had also to bear a share of the responsibility. However that may be, the question of rebuilding Indian industries out of their ashes is not free from serious difficulties and unless Government is prepared honestly and resolutely to come forward to make atonement for its past sins of commission and omission, it may never be solved. Much is said about the phenomenal progress of Japan and Sir Thomas Holland has recently thrown a flood of light upon her industrial development. But what is the secret of her success? Amidst all the disquisitions and speculations which have gathered round the question, there looms large one fact which can neither be overlooked nor disputed. Japan possesses a National Government which India does not. In Japan there is no clashing of interest between the people and the State, but in India, although the interests of the Government may not collide with those of the people, its industrial policy is to a large extent controlled by

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considerations independent of the interest of India. Gentlemen I pause here for a moment to thank the Government of the United Provinces which is the only administration that has as yet taken any practical interest in the development of some of our industries.

If however, for any reason the Government finds itself handicapped in the way of building up new industries on its own account, as in Japan it can at any rate do much to help and encourage such industries. It can add a portfolio of industries to the member in charge of Commerce and carry on an investigation through experts as to which industry is best suited to what part of the country regard being had to the production of raw materials facilities of communication and labour. Then as Indian capital starts any business on a sound and substantial basis the Government may come forward to purchase a portion of its shares in order to secure both an effective control over it and an abiding interest in its success. And above all it may guarantee to such a concern a certain rate of profit or dividend for a period sufficient to enable it to stand on its own legs while it may render no inconsiderable help by becoming its customer for its own purposes. It may also remove all unjustifiable excise duties and grant railway concessions. If the Government will do all this it will discharge its function as a benevolent state and remove the shyness of Indian Capital in an unequal competition with its formidable foreign rivals. If this cannot be done the Government will be well advised not to waste its money over academic conferences and commissions to serve no other purpose than that of raising false hopes and aggravating public discontent.

In this connection I would make a passing reference to an important question in regard to which the opinions of public bodies and associations are being sought but which as far as I can see has not excited much public interest—I mean the proposal to transfer the railways to private Companies. It is a great economic question and ought not to be as lightly treated as it appears to have been done in certain unexpected quarters. The Railways are one of the most important state concerns whose earnings constitute by no means an inconsiderable portion of the State revenues. The great highways of trade and commerce are public domain and belong to the State. To transfer them to any private individual or individuals or to allow them to manage them may be an act amounting to a serious infringement of public rights and an abdication of a State function. We are looking forward to a time when the Government will become national if not in its *personnel* at least in its aims and purposes and the railways owned by the State and controlled by the state will then be conducted upon national lines and will be the hand maid of the national industries by offering facilities for their growth and development. The time has come for the definite acceptance of this policy.

A National Militia

Gentlemen no people can be either self respecting or respected by others unless they are able to defend themselves. A people always dependent upon Government for the safety of their life and property must be an intolerable burden on the state and a source of weakness to it. A vast empire like British India without a National army, protected by a nominal force of 70 thousand European soldiers and 140 thousand Indian troops may be a wonderful feat but it is a most dangerous experiment. If the Indians were trained but as volunteers only five years ago although the Congress has been demanding the privilege for the last twenty five years the humiliating spectacle of Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George and Lord Derby alternately coaxing and threatening the British people for raising an army of two millions might easily have been avoided and at all events a general conscription so distasteful to British tradition might not have to-day become such an imperative necessity. India, with her teeming millions properly trained and equipped standing behind England can present an invincible front against any power in the world. The question is not one of men and materials, but of trust and confidence. But has not India given sufficient proof of her fidelity and devotion to the British connection? If not England must stand self-condemned before the eyes of the civilised world.

Such is the situation Bureaucracy has accomplished its work. It has established order and tranquility. But it has outgrown itself. Its continued existence is fraught with mischief and unable to cope with the rising forces of popular opinion and with the demands created with the new spirit, it has had recourse to a policy which has excited grave public discontent. What then is to be the remedy? That remedy is what has been so effectively applied in other countries similarly circumstanced, and the remedy which suggests itself to the Indian mind as it occurred to John Stuart Mill and to Edmund Burke, lies in the grant of

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Representative Government.

Call it Home Rule, call it Self Rule, call it Swaraj, call it Self Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of any evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882 when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helplessness of their situation. A *National League* was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the *Star in the East* was issued which was written in a style and language which if employed at the present day would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when in his famous Resolution of January, 1882, he told the people that 'local self Government must precede national self government'. Although the first Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, the notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution'. And Mrs. Annie Besant in her admirable book *How India Wrought for Freedom*, has pointedly referred to the utterance of the Grand Old Man of India which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people for self government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself when in the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, it found an emphatic and unequivocal and pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet call for *Swaraj* which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has passed away, but a generation has risen whose sole and whole-hearted demand is nothing short of self government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation. A cry has, however, been raised that we are not yet fit for self-government. Procrastination is the proverbial thief of time. It is also the orthodox plea of a frame of mind which, unable to cope with an untenable position, only asks for an adjournment to seek for a compromise on the most favourable terms.

But before we proceed to discuss this question we must first divest ourselves of the dogmatism which prevails with equal force, though not with equal authority, on both sides, and try to understand the question in the light of the unanswerable logic of facts. Let us see what are the requisites of self government and how far the Indian people possess these requisites to reasonably demand self government.

THREE CONDITIONS OF MILL.

John Stuart Mill in his book on Representative Government lays down three conditions for self government which are now universally accepted by all writers on political philosophy. These conditions are—1st, that the people for whom the form of Government is intended should be willing to accept it, 2nd, that they must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it standing, and 3rd, that they must be willing and able to do what it requires of them to enable it to fulfil its purposes. To these three tests I will add a fourth, by way of a rider, directly to meet the argument of our critics,—have the people given satisfactory evidence of their capacity for Self Government?

EDUCATION NO TEST

It will be noticed that Mill nowhere lays down Education as a separate and independent test for Self Government and this is for a very good reason. Education no

who recklessly cry "the wolf" ought to know that if the wolf had really been anywhere in the field, it would not have been possible long to indulge in this foolish trick. It ought to be fairly conceded that the credit of this remarkable achievement is evenly divided between the Government and the people,—the confidence of the people in the Government and the trust of the Government in the people, and that any attempt on the part of either to appropriate it to itself the whole credit is an absurd pretension. The spirit of co operation and self help infused into the minds of our people mainly by the inspiring breath of the Congress, and the numberless societies, missions and associations which have sprung up throughout the country with philanthropic and other aims and objects, are sufficiently indicative of the quickening of a national life, and the courage and endurance displayed by our young men in every public cause, are all unmistakable evidence of the readiness of the people to support the administration. In flood and famine, in fires and fams and in other positions of dangers, difficulties and distress there are thousands of youngmen who eagerly rush forward to help the administration without waiting for recognition or expecting any reward and despite police surveillance to which they are subjected. The Hospital Ships furnished by Bombay and Madras, the Ambulance Corps and the Double Company provided by Bengal and the various war funds raised throughout the country are no mean evidence of the willingness and readiness of the people to co operate with the administration. All these, in my opinion, afford striking evidence of the devotion and the capacity for self sacrifice which our countrymen are prepared to incur in the public interests and which constitute the most valuable qualification for self rule. This shows that our people are willing and able to make the Government stand and are ready to make the necessary sacrifices for the establishment of National Government. Lapses no doubt there are, but do they not occur even among people invested with full measure of self-government? A National Government would shift the burden as well as its odium and unpopularity from the state to the people and would necessarily make them still more alive to their responsibilities. It is power which creates responsibility. Responsibility without power is a debt without security which cannot be enforced if left undischarged.

It was George Yule who, twenty years ago, speaking at the first Congress held in the United Provinces said that all political agitations have to pass through three stages—that of Ridicule, Opposition and Concession. We have long passed the stage of Ridicule and almost passed the second stage and we are now practically on the debatable ground between Opposition and Concession standing more on the firm soil of the latter than on the slippery ground of the former.

"NOT YET"

There are however, those who say "not yet" Not yet! Then 'when'?—asks the Indian Nationalist. But here the Oracle is dumb and Echo only answers—when! Edwin Bevan's parable of "the Patient and the Steelframe" is cited and the people are strictly enjoined to lie in peace and possess their souls in patience until their political *Nirvana* is accomplished. Similes and metaphors are not safe guides in practical life, for all fables are but fallacies clothed in equivocal language which captivates the imagination and deludes the reason. For even the patient in the "steel frame" requires a gradual relaxation and occasional readjustment of his splints and bandages and above all, a steady, substantial improvement in his dietary arrangements, as after all it is the food and nourishment and not the splints and bandages, that are calculated to give him strength and cure him of his injuries. You cannot indefinitely keep him on milk and sago to help either the "knitting of the bones" or the "granulation of the flesh". Our critics however would enjoin "perfect quiet and repose" without prescribing any kind of diet until the people shall have in their spirit of quiescence fully recovered themselves in their steel frame. If any illustration were actually needed, one might fairly suggest that the case of either the swimmer or the rider would probably furnish a more apposite object lesson. You cannot expect the one to be an expert jockey without training him on the back of a horse, as you cannot expect the other to be an expert swimmer without allowing him to go into water. There must be repeated falls and dockings before any

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efficiency can be attained by either. Admitting for argument's sake—and there can be no prejudice in such an admission—that the Indians are not yet as fit for self government as the Europeans are does it follow that they must only patiently contemplate in their still frame without a stir till the day of their release? If that be so the day of their redemption will in all probability maintain its ever receding distance and the vision of the patient never realised. There is a school for the lawyer the physician the educationist and the engineer where he can obtain his passport and begin his profession, but is there any school or college where an aspirant can be admitted to his degree for Self Government? It is through Self Government that the art of Self Government can be either taught or acquired. One must be drilled in the art of administration before he can acquire the steady use of his faculties in the work of practical administration. In the words of Mr Gladstone it is the institution of Self Government which constitutes the best training ground for Self Government. It is through failure that success can be achieved in practical politics. Such failure was fully anticipated by Lord Ripon in his famous Resolution of 1882 and it is through such failures that the British people have obtained the constitution of which they are so justly proud. In the reigns of James I Charles I and his successors what was the British constitution and the status of the British people when Parliament could be summoned or dismissed at the pleasure of a despotic sovereign and titles and offices were freely bought and sold without any regard to public interest? The mass of the people were steeped in ignorance while the highest officers in the State were not sometimes free from intrigue and corruption. Yet the British people fought for their rights and liberties and obtained them in the midst of these unfavourable conditions. If they had ever allowed themselves to be kept in a steel frame until nature resumed her active process, where would have been the splendid fabric of British constitutional freedom to day? Nature never helps those who do not help themselves.

ARE INDIANS FIT FOR SELF GOVERNMENT?

Now let us turn to a discussion of the rider which was started at the beginning of this question. Gentlemen our critics have already begun sorting our politicians. I do not pretend to be a politician but even if I were one I would far rather go with the politicians of the baser sort than agree to rise one degree higher or one degree lower as you may choose to call it in the estimation of our critics while as to the superlative degree I would ungrudgingly have it reserved for those who have so far forgotten the traditions of their own race as to completely divest themselves of the instincts of a free and liberty loving people to which they ethnologically belong. The question to be answered is—Have the Indian people given fair proof of their capacity for self government? I do not like to indulge in theories. Let facts answer.

IN THE NATIVE STATES

India possesses an area of 1800000 square miles with a population of 316 millions of which over 700000 square miles or more than one third of this area with a population of over 70 millions or close upon one fourth belong to the independent Native States. Now these States are entirely managed by Indian administrators and it has to be admitted that some of them are marching ahead of British India in certain directions, particularly in respect of education judicial reforms and industrial development which are the most sacred functions of a constitutional government. It must be borne in mind that not a few of these distinguished administrators who achieved such brilliant results in the administration of these states are sometimes drawn from His Majesty's subjects in British India. Men like Sir Salar Jung Sir Dinkar Rao Sir T. Madhava Rao Mr Dadabhai Naoroji Rao Bahadur Sirdar Sansar Chandra Sen, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao Mr Romesh Chandra Dutt Sir Sashiah Shastri Mr Ranga Charlu Mr Gouri Shankar Ojha, Mr Seshadri Aiyer Mr B. L. Gupta Mr Nilambar Mukherjee and Mr A. R. Banerjee who have governed various Native States with such consummate ability and conspicuous success have indisputably indicated the capacity of their countrymen for the highest administrative offices. They have shown that if commanded by their Sovereign they were fit to hold any portfolio in the Government of India. If these

distinguished administrators had their lot cast solely in British India many of them would have in all probability ended their careers as deputy magistrates a few as district officers and fewer still as officiating commissioners of divisions

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IN THE VARIOUS SERVICES

Then have not Indians in British India given practical proof of their administrative capacity to qualify themselves for Self Government? Have they not in the charge of districts both as judicial and executive officers and have they not in charge of division or of a board of revenue or in the intricate department of audit and account given sufficient evidence of their ability and capacity for efficient administration? Have they not been tried in the humbler stages of self government as well as in the higher legislative assemblies? They have been tried in the inner circles of the Provincial as well as the Imperial administration and they have been also tried at the real seat of authority in Whitehall. True Sir S P Sinha might never have aspired to the chair occupied by Maine and Macaulay but has England sent any more Maines and Macaulays to fill that chair? Or was Sir S P Sinha or Sir Syed Ali Imam an altogether unworthy successor of Sir James Stephen or Sir C P Ilbert? In the great department of administration of justice they have been tried in the highest tribunals of the land where they have acted and are acting as Chief Justices with as much credit and distinction as any brought out from England while in the domain of Education they have as Vice Chancellors managed important universities in a way which has extorted the admiration if not the envy of the most captious critics. They have also managed with remarkable success the affairs of one of the foremost if not the foremost corporations in the country. All these they have done and if they have not done more it is their misfortune and not their fault.

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS

Self control strength of mind and fidelity are among the highest virtues of an administrator and judged by these tests have not Indians acquitted themselves in a manner worthy of the best traditions of any service in the world? Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's resignation of his seat in the Executive Council is still a mystery to the public. But whatever may be its solution it is an open secret that at a critical time he withdrew the resignation that he had tendered and stood loyally by the Government. Has any body ever heard the faintest whisper of this incident from the lips of Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha? Then take another case. The Partition of Bengal had stirred the people of Bengal to a state of feverish excitement unprecedented in the history. Petitions and protests to Viceroy and Ministers were of no avail and after seven years of persistent agitation the people were awaiting in breathless suspense the decision of His Majesty. A despatch from the Governor General in Council recommended a modification of the partition in August 1911 and Sir Syed Ali Imam was one of the signatories to this eventful document. Yet on the 12th December the Royal Proclamation came as a complete surprise both upon the local Governments as well as upon the people. The Partition was said to have been effected in the interest of the Mahomedans. But did Sir Syed Ali Imam either in his quivering lips or tell tale eyes betray in the slightest degree the dead secret of the prison house within this anxious period of five months?

The objections

AN INARTICULATE MASS AND THE EDUCATED COMMUNITY A BUG BEAR.

The most orthodox argument in fact the only argument now advanced against this natural and legitimate demand is that the mass are silent and have not joined in the cry. This is an ingenious argument, for an inarticulate mass will never speak and the reforms will not come. But have the mass at any time and in any country spoken out before any reform has been granted? The hydra headed mass speak only in times of rebellion or revolution and even then under the inspiration of their leaders who rise out of the educated minority but their voice is not heard amid a process of silent evolution in the benefits of which they are bound to participate. Did the mass in England cry for the *Magna Charta* or the Petition of Rights or the Reform Bill? The educated few have everywhere represented the ignorant many and history tells us that they have always been their unaccredited

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spokesmen And then whose fault is it that the masses in India are dumb and illiterate? The Congress has cried and Congressmen have tried their utmost for the spread of elementary education and they have been told that the time has not yet arrived for universal compulsory education for the masses We do not know if the Astrological Almanac is being consulted for an auspicious day for such an undertaking It all looks like the time old, yet never hackneyed, game of "head I win, tail you lose"

SOLICITUDE FOR THE POOR, CASTE SYSTEM

Then as a corollary to the above a further argument is advanced that there are so many communities and sub divisions in this caste ridden country that if Self-Government were conceded King Stork would one by one swallow up all the frogs and a Babel of disorder would follow in which men would run at one another's throats and render settled government impossible Such keen solicitude for the poor and the weak is no doubt highly creditable to an enlightened administration, but in a country where more than two fifths of the population live on insufficient food, where in 42 years there were 22 famines carrying away millions of human beings, a country which is admittedly the poorest and yet the most heavily taxed as well as burdened with the costliest of administrations, where the average earnings of the free citizen are almost half of what the prisoner in the jail gets for his food and raiment where floods devastate and Malaria decimates without any remedy or redress, while piles of reports and recommendations of Commissions and Committees cover the archives of the Secretariats, where the poor have often to drink muddy liquids to appease their thirst, and where five out of every six children even in moderately decent families of the poor are allowed to grow up in ignorance—I say in a country like that men may not be wanting who might consider such paternal solicitude as too much of a protestation I do not at all suggest that the Government of the country is solely or even primarily responsible for everyone of these untoward circumstances, but what I do maintain is that the apprehensions of the Government and its organs are ill-founded and unjustified No doubt there is the baneful caste system but there is also the counter balancing distribution of labour and profession The caste imposes only social restrictions and no political disabilities Caste system in one shape or other and to some extent obtains in almost every society, but has nowhere stood as an insurmountable bar in the way of its political or economic development Then is there no redeeming feature of the Indian social system with all its defects? Is there any country where every home is an asylum for the poor, and where the poor and the destitute are fed and clothed by their richer countrymen so generously? Is there any other people among whom the prevailing religions enjoin public charity without distinction of caste, colour or creed to such an extent that it has led the advocates of modern civilization to characterize it as encouraging 'professional mendicancy'? Government no doubt honestly tries to mitigate the sufferings of the poor in the hour of their distress, but is any notice taken of the millions who are silently succoured by the well to do Hindus and Mahomedans out of their own pocket in accordance with the injunctions of their religions? Then, has not the Congress cried for 30 years for the amelioration of the condition of the masses as persistently as for political rights and privileges? If such be the case, where is the ground and where the evidence for the apprehension so keenly felt and so persistently echoed and re-echoed? The Labour Party in the British Parliament is only of yesterday's growth and were Parliamentary institutions deferred till the grant of a nominal representation of its vast working population? And was it Cobden or Kier Hardie that organized the Anti corn Law League or improved the wages of the labouring class And then are not caste prejudices fast dying out under the inexorable pressure of our environments and are not men of talents rising out of the ranks of the so called depressed classes who are receiving the ungrudging homage of the Brahmans and other superior castes? Lastly, would not there always be the paramount authority of the Government to correct abuses and remedy injustice wherever committed? Blood is always thicker

than water and people are not therefore wanting amongst us who honestly regard the question of the strong and the weak only as a plausible pretext and not a serious argument

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HINDU MOSLEM QUESTION

Another difficulty put forward is the eternal question of the difference between the Hindus and the Mahomedans of India. But the game has been nearly played out and the Hindus and the Mahomedans have practically solved the question. It is more than five years ago that some of us dreamt a dream which appears now not to have been all a dream. The Congress and the League have come to meet at the same place and the day may not be far distant when in spite of the Siren-song which has so far diverted their course they will come to meet in the same pavilion and at the same time. The Hindus and Mahomedans are rapidly converging towards each other and indeed it would be a miracle if they did not so converge and if they continued to fly off at a tangent despite the irresistible attraction of the great centripetal force which is drawing them towards their common centre. The stock argument based upon occasional differences and disturbances between Hindus and Mussalmans cannot have much force. These are confined mostly to lower classes of people on either side. It is neither fair nor judicious to exaggerate their importance. There are Hindus and Mahomedans side by side in every Native State. In the Mahomedan State of Hyderabad with a Hindu population of nearly 70 per cent and the Hindu State of Kashmere with 60 per cent Mahomedan subjects we do not hear of any cow killing riots or Mohurum disturbances or of any ill feeling between the two communities. And one wonders why a different state of things should prevail in British territories. A nationality is now no longer either a religious or a social federation but a political unit. Diverse races professing different forms of religion and following distinct varieties of manners, customs and traditions easily submit to a common political faith to work out their common destiny. The Picts and the Scots, the Saxons and the Normans, the Protestants and the Catholics are now all welded into the great British nation. The Teutons and the Slavs, the Prussians and the Poles have formed one of the mightiest empires which has lit up a world wide conflagration, while in that curious Dual Monarchy of Austro-Hungary the Magyars, the Hungarians, Czechs, the Poles, the Slavs, the Serbs, the Croates and the Rumanians have formed themselves into a national federation of no ordinary solidarity and strength. The Hindus and Mussalmans are both of common Aryan stock while Hindu anthropology traces them to a common descent within the legendary period of their ancient history. Neither the Parsis nor the Mahomedans of India owe any temporal allegiance either to the Shah of Persia or the Sultan of Turkey. They are now Indians as much as the Hindus. But why indulge in speculations against a settled fact? I think I break no secret when I announce to you that the Hindu Moslem question has been settled and the Hindus and Mussalmans have agreed to make a united demand for Self Government. The All India Congress Committee and the representatives of the Moslem League who recently met in conference at Calcutta have after two days' deliberations in one voice resolved to make a joint demand for a Representative Government in India. There are little differences on one or two minor points of detail but they count for nothing. The vital issue has been solved and the main point has been gained. The report of the Conference will shortly be placed before you and I need not enter into details. We have many historic days but I believe the 17th November will rank among the brightest and the most notable of them all. I would now appeal to both the communities to sink all their minor domestic differences and present a solid united front for the realization of their common destiny within the Empire. Only the seeds having been sown, the seedlings have just sprouted and for God's sake let us not quarrel over the division of the crop which still demands our combined labour and attention before the harvest comes. What are special electorates and communal representations when there is really no electorate and no representation among a people? What matters it if Dinshaw Edulji Wacha or Surendra Nath Banerjee or Muzhur ul Huque were to represent us in our National Assembly?

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They are three in one and one in three Remember what the great *Yudhishtira* said addressing the *Kauravas* and the *Pandavas* —

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“वयं पञ्च वयं पञ्च धर्तराष्ट्र, शतं तथा । परेषु प्रतिपन्नेषु पञ्चोत्तरशत वयम् ॥”

Making a different application of this noble saying of the wise and saintly *Yudhishtira* we may say that we may be five brothers on one side and a hundred brothers on the other, but in a common cause we are a hundred and five brothers undivided and undivisible

Gentlemen an ounce of fact is said to be worth a ton of theories and while we here are quarrelling over the first principles of the problem the Americans have quietly and speedily solved it in the Philippines

The Philippines

The Philippine islands from their discovery by Lopez de Villalobos in the reign of Philip of Spain were under a form of despotic government compared to which the despotism of John Company was an unmixed blessing The archipelago is inhabited by a congeries of people speaking different languages and observing different forms of religion of the most primitive type The Negroes, the Panayas, the Mindanos, a dark woolly people Indonesians the Malaysians the Chinese, the Spaniards and a number of non descripts inhabit the islands Of ancient civilization and tradition these people have none while as to their enlightenment and culture the world has heard nothing The Americans conquered the islands in 1898 and the only claim of the people to the consideration of their liberators was that they had at first formed themselves into a band of insurgents under the leadership of an ambitious man named Aguinaldo who afterwards aspired to expel their benefactors A provisional Government was however soon established by the Americans and peace restored in the country Quite recently a proposal was brought forward in the House of Representatives of the United States for the granting of Home Rule to the Philippines and in the discussion which followed some maintained that it should be accomplished in two years some in four years while others held that there should be no time limit, but all agreed that the islanders must be given their freedom and the archipelago should not form a permanent appenage to the United States which since the Civil War had positively refused to go in for territorial aggrandisement even in the face of the splendid opportunities which the New World presented to them The last resolution was carried and the American Governor in addressing the Philipinos on the occasion of granting them a substantial majority in the Legislative Assemblies in 1913 said — We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippines Every step we take will be taken with a view to the independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence The administration will take one step at once It will give to the native citizens of the islands a majority in the Commission and thus in the Upper as well as in the Lower House of the Legislature ... We place within your reach the instruments of redemption The door of opportunity stands open, and the event, under Providence is in your hands The triumph is as great for us as it is for you Noble words these and nobly have the Americans come forward to fulfil them As a result of this announcement the following measures have been introduced

The Central Government in the Philippines is composed of the Governor General who is the chief executive and president of the Philippine Commission, and eight commissioners, three Americans and five Philipinos The Philippine Commission constitutes the Upper House and the elective Philippine Assembly the Lower House of the Legislative body The members of the Assembly hold office for four years and the Legislature elects two Resident Commissioners to the United States who hold office for the same term These are members of the United States' House of Representatives with a voice but not a vote The islands are divided into 36 provinces of which 31 are regular and the rest special The Government of each of the regular provinces is vested in a provincial board composed of a Governor and two *regents* The Governor is the chief executive

cutive of the province and presiding officer of the board. He and the *vocals* of the board are all elected by popular vote. The Government of towns is practically autonomous, the officials being elected by the qualified voters of the municipalities and serving for four years. The Jones' Bill of Independence introduced in the United States Legislature proposed to confer complete independence on the Philippines not later than four years from the passing of the bill. In place of the present Philippine Commission, which is abolished, the Philippines are to elect a Senate. The house is already elected by the people and with the election of the Senate, the electorate is to be increased by about 600,000. As about 200,000 Philippines vote now, the new law will grant voting rights to about 800,000. The office of Governor General is retained and there is to be a Vice Governor, an American whose duties are to be fixed by the Governor-General. The functions of the Legislature are limited so as to provide that the coinage, currency, and immigration laws shall not be made without the approval of the President of the United States. Finally, all Americans residing in the Islands who desire to vote must become citizens of the Islands. *The Republican* points out also that the preamble of the bill fixes no specific date for the granting of independence, but simply state that it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a suitable government can be established therein. Therefore, as justly pointed out by the *Indian Patriot*, 'enlarged powers of self-government are granted in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may the better be prepared fully to assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence'.

Thus a complete autonomous federal government has already been established in the islands in which the Philippines largely preponderate over the Americans and in which the actual administration has been substantially transferred to them. There is no bureaucracy in the Philippines, nor a jingo press there. No there is no ruler and ruled, no sedition and no internments. Self Government has established a reign of peace and contentment. Every Filipino is now a free citizen unemasculated by the operation of any Arms Act and unfettered by any Press Law. Are the arm chair critics who so lavishly indulge in abusing the Indian Nationalists for their "extravagant hopes and 'unrealizable demands' prepared to give any explanation of this phenomenal progress of the Philippines under the suzerainty of America? What is the difference between the Union Jack and the Star and the Stripes? Let Sir William Wedderburn, who was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service as his views have always commanded respect for their sobriety, soundness and moderation, answer. Sir William commenting on the question of Self Government as viewed in reference to the Philippines pertinently asks,— 'Can anybody show valid cause why this good example (of America) should not be followed by the British Government with regard to India? Are the Philippines in any respect superior to the people of India? Or, is that the British people are inferior to the Americans in love of principle and moral courage? We pause for a reply as to which of the alternatives is correct. Sir William then adds— 'The problem in India is much simpler, for India does not ask for a termination of the British connection, but I can say with certainty that among our best friends in India there exists grave disquiet, produced by the silence of the Government regarding their future policy, accompanied by irritating retrogressive legislation in Parliament and fresh activity of police repression in India.' If the Philippines have developed an instinct for Self Government within 18 years no amount of reasoning or argument can satisfy the Indian mind that the Hindus the Mahomedans, the Parsis and the Christians of India have not made even a near approach to it within 160 years, and if they are not yet fit for self government I despair of a time when they may be so.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

There is yet another question which ought to be clearly understood in connection with our demand for Self Government. Is it any appreciable increase in our share in the administration that we demand on the permanent basis of the present system of government? Or is it a thorough change in the constitution irrespective of all considerations of larger employment of the children of the soil in the public services? To

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the bogus medical degree assumed for themselves. We do not judge the great British nation by specimens of this kind, who do no honour to the English name. If we had done that the Congress would have long ago wound up its business and gone into voluntary liquidation. The descendants of Howard and Wilberforce of Burke and Bright of Macaulay and Maine and of Canning and Ripon are not yet extinct. It is a nation of giants who refuse to tolerate injustice and perpetuate serfdom wherever they may exist if only they are satisfied of their existence and who possess a responsive heart to the call of freedom. It has been truly said that it is not Britain's heart but Britain's ear that has been so long deaf to the wail that has been raised in this country. But the din of war has risen above all and the thrilling demonstrations of India's fidelity to the British connection have disabused many a robust mind in England of the hobgoblin stories to which they have been so lavishly treated in the past and liberals and conservatives have therefore with equal emphasis come to recognise as rational what has been denounced as "extravagant hopes and unrealizable demands of the Indian people. Let us recall to day only a few of the many assurances that have been given to India by some of the responsible ministers and men who are now guiding the destinies of the Empire.

The *Times*, the leading organ of conservative opinion in England has been struck with the unexpected demonstration in India and frankly admitted that the Indian problem must be henceforth looked at from a different point of view. On our part", says the great journal when we have settled account with the enemy India must be allowed a more ample place in the councils of the Empire. Both Mr Montagu and Mr Roberts, as Under Secretary for India have from time to time expressed themselves in no uncertain voice as to the correct lines upon which the Indian administration requires to be revised and modified. Mr Montagu's honest interpretation of Lord Hardinge's Despatch of August 1911 is well known while Mr Roberts speaking from his place in the House of Commons has frankly acknowledged that with the intellectual classes in India this outburst of loyalty is a reasoned sentiment based upon considerations of enlightened self interest and has at the same time asked the British public to alter the angle of vision in their perspective of the Indian problem. Following the *Times* the *Review of Reviews* has in one of its latest numbers fairly admitted that India to day occupies a higher place in the Empire than ever before and has materially advanced her claims towards Self Government and it is inevitable that after the war her outstanding demands should receive the most sympathetic consideration. We have the *Review* adds made promises of Self Government to Egypt and it is inconceivable that we should deny the same privileges to India. At present India is not pressing her claim but patiently awaits her just due not as a reward but as a right which her conduct has shown her worthy of possessing. Lord Haldane who till recently occupied a commanding position in the cabinet said — The Indian soldiers were fighting for the liberties of humanity as much as we ourselves. India had given her lives and treasures in humanity's great cause hence things could not be left as they were. We had been thrown together in the mighty struggle and had been made to realize our oneness so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be victory for the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it to a higher level. Then at a recent meeting held at Guildhall at the instance of the Lord Mayor Mr Asquith the premier and Mr Bonar Law the erstwhile leader of the opposition and both now united in coalition ministry have given a joint pledge for the readjustment of India's position in councils of the Empire after the war is over. But to quote the words of Mr Bonar Law why the thing should not be done "while the metal was still glowing red hot from the furnace of the war and the promised rewards of India's comradeship and co operation should be all relegated to the indefinite future and not one of them even shadowed forth in the present programme of the Imperial Government seems to be inexplicable. Quite recently Lord Chelmsford is reported to have said that the war by giving India an opportunity to show its practical importance to the Empire had stirred Indian aspirations for developments politically and economically. It would be his endeavour to secure a practical response

The President's Address

The Hon. Babu Ambika Chandra Mazumdar

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to this new desire for progress His Lordship is said to have added — My task is to guard India from cramping influences of undue conservatism equally with unpractical revolutionary tendencies

Now are these men of less authority, foresight and responsibility than the members of the Indian bureaucracy or its exponents in the Anglo Indian Press who are ever so loud and positive in denouncing our claims? Or are these assurances all a hoax intended to delude the Indian mind? We positively refuse to accept any such view which would be a gross calumny on the great British nation. We have much greater confidence in British statesmanship which may have blundered in many places but has failed nowhere. Gentlemen we indulge in no gloomy anticipations, but we shudder to contemplate the serious effect which the non fulfilment of these pledges is likely to produce in the minds of the Indian public. The Partition of Bengal which was after all a provincial question brought in its trail an outburst of discontent which like wild fire spread throughout the whole country and necessitated a full brigade of repressive measures to put it down although its mouldering sparks are not yet fully extinct. And how wide spread and far reaching must be the unrest which is sure to follow a light hearted treatment of these solemn pledges and assurances upon which the people have so firmly and so confidently built their future hopes of advancement? God forbid that such a calamity should befall India. As loyal subjects of His Majesty we of the Congress deem it our duty to tell all whom it may concern not to treat the Indian problem after the war as lightly as some irresponsible and mischievous critics are evidently disposed to do. Already a subdued note of the scrap of paper has been raised in certain quarters. The Charter Act of 1833 the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the two gracious messages of King Edward VII and George V still remain unredeemed and it would be no wise statesmanship to add to the burden of unredeemed pledges. England has been drawn into the vortex of a titanic struggle for the deliverance of Belgium and Serbia. God grant she may come out with her brave allies completely triumphant in her heroic efforts. She has however a much greater stake in India and India has a much greater claim to her consideration. Let us hope she will not fail to be at least as just as she is generous. After the war is over a complete readjustment of the Empire will have to be made. All its component parts will have to be co-ordinated and harmonised with one another and with the parent state. India alone cannot be left out of this programme. She must be admitted into common and equal partnership with the colonies on terms of equal rights and obligations of the Empire enjoying equal laws and equal rights of British citizenship throughout that Empire. The collar of a Dependency should be removed from her neck and the coronet of an autonomous self governing state placed upon her head. What a glorious federation it would then be more glorious than that of the Roman Empire or of any that the world has yet seen. England would do well to remember in her own interest that she cannot maintain a condition of perpetual pupillage anywhere within her world wide possessions without slowly and imperceptibly inoculating herself with its poison in her own home. Demoralisation in one part of a body however remote must inevitably result if not remedied in the ultimate deterioration of the whole system. Present experience has shown that for greater cohesion and solidarity of the Empire its component parts must be brought into closer touch and more intimate relations between one another and the mother country. India alone cannot be excluded from equal consideration in the coming readjustment for if she were to be so excluded India's position is sure to be worse than even at present. If the colonies are allowed a representation in the federal council of the Empire they will undoubtedly have a voice in the administration of India and for aught we know, their representatives may sometimes find a place in the cabinet and also become the Secretary of State for India. If India is denied such representation she will be further degraded as being subject also to the colonies. There is a serious danger in admitting the colonies to a participation in determining the policy that is to be followed in relation to India, for the colonial mind is saturated with the colour prejudice which would thus be reflected in the Government of India. Such a change in the "angle vision" it would be dreadful to contemplate. If the equilibrium of the Empire is to be maintained India

must also be thrown into the scale. She must be freely admitted into the partnership and given a free constitution like that of the self governing dominions and a fair representation in the federal council along with the colonies

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Our Demands

Ladies and gentlemen I now propose as a summary to the foregoing discussions to submit a few daring and impertinent proposals for the consideration of the Government both in England as well as in India. A memorandum presented by nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council has met with the criticisms of both sides. Some have regarded it as premature and falling short of our demands while others have denounced it as extravagant. The circumstances which brought about the submission of this memorandum have already been explained to the public while as I read it this memorandum represents neither the irreducible minimum nor the unenhanceable maximum of our demands nor do I understand the signatories to it to mean that their proposals are to be carried out on the morning following the day on which the Treaty of Berlin may be signed. The signatories to the memorandum have however done me one great service. They have borne the brunt of the fusillade and made my passage less difficult so as to enable me to press forward unnoticed under cover of their fire. As to the other side of the shield our misfortune is that we are unable to see where the extravagance comes in. We have no superfluities in any direction and for such a people as ourselves to indulge in extravagance seems to be out of the question. Extravagance may seize the minds of those who have got enough and to spare. However that may be here are our demands which God willing are bound to be fulfilled at no distant date.

1 India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self governing state as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire

2 In any scheme of readjustment after the war India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the colonies of the Empire

3 India must be governed from Delhi and Simla and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under Secretaries of State for India one should be an Indian and the salaries of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the case of the dominions. India must have complete autonomy financial legislative as well as administrative

4 The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain head of all the local administrations and unless we can ensure its progressive character any effective reform of the local governments would be impossible. For this the Services must be completely separated from the State and no member of any service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a service may be utilized in the departments but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

5 The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor General with a number of ministers not less than one half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this ministry of the Viceroy will possess the composite character of a parliamentary and non parliamentary cabinet.

6 The Upper House of Representatives in Canada is composed of 90 members. The Supreme Legislative Council in India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period one fifth may be appointed by the cabinet not more than one fourth of whom may be officials.

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7 The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like money Bills and except the military estimates the entire Budget should be subject to the vote of the Council

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8 The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous each Province developing and enjoying its own resources subject only to a contribution towards the maintenance of the Supreme Government

9 A Provincial administration should be vested as in the case of the Supreme Government in a Governor with a cabinet not less than one half of whom should be Indians elected by the non official elected Indian members of the Legislative Council

10 The Provincial Legislative Council should in the case of a major province consist of 100 members and in the case of a minor province 75 members all of whom should be elected by the people and each district must have at least one representative of its own For the transitory period there should of course be the same conditions and restrictions as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council

11 As the executive and the legislative functions are to be separated so there must be complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions of the State The judicial administration whether civil or criminal should be wholly vested in the High Courts both as regards control as well as the pay prospect and promotion of its officers The High Courts should be subordinate only to the Supreme Government

12 The Arms Act should be repealed or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with the Europeans and Eurasians The Press Act should be removed from the Statute Book and all the repressive measures withdrawn

13 India should have a national militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards and they should be allowed to volunteer themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline The Commissioned ranks in the army should be thrown upon to His Majesty's Indian Subject

14 A full measure of local self government should be immediately granted throughout the country, and the corporations of the Presidency towns the District and the Taluk boards and the district municipal corporations should be made perfectly self governing bodies with elected members and elected chairmen of their own They should be freed from all official control except such as may be legally exercised by the Government direct

15 Mass education should be made free and compulsory Suitable provisions should also be made for the development and encouragement of indigenous industries

The above is a summary of our demands We do not fix any time limit for the duration of the war is uncertain and there must be a transitory period through which the process must pass But if we fix no time limit we agree to no indefinite postponement either Some of these proposals can and ought to be immediately carried out and there is no reason why they should wait for the termination of the war while there are others which cannot of course be settled until the time for the readjustment of the Empire arrives but we must be distinctly understood to maintain that this period should not be treated as a further extension granted to the present system of administration and its methods There must be henceforth a distinct tendency visible in every branch of the administration to conciliate the people and inspire trust and confidence in the future policy of the Government As words without thoughts never to heaven go, so promises without performance and sympathy without action can never touch the hearts of a people Patience has often been prescribed as the sovereign remedy for all distempers but it cannot be denied that when the most skilful physician is unable for a long time to show any sign of improvement and on the contrary there are continued symptoms of aggravation, a suspicion naturally may arise in the mind of the patient as to the skill of the physician or the efficacy of his methods On our part, gentlemen, we must be content to ascend

Step by Step.

The Presidential Address.

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It is no argument to say that you have long acquired the capacity to make the ascent. You might have ten years before safely tried the experiment but it does not follow that you can therefore cover ten steps or even two steps at a time. Whenever you have to ascend you must begin from the base and rise steadily and cautiously upwards. Of course it would be no progress if you gain one step and lose two. Doubtless we ought carefully to see that we lose no ground and then even if our progress be slow we may be sure of reaching our destined goal.

The British Committee.

Gentlemen one word about our British agency in London. It is perfectly superfluous for me to point out that no business concern can be successfully carried on without a well equipped and efficient agency at its principal place of business. In England is the real seat of power and the battle of India must be fought on the British soil. Though it is we who must fight it out we must have the British public as our ally. That public must be informed and influenced so as to enable it to come to a correct judgment of our case. There is an erroneous impression in certain quarters that as our grievances are so numerous and so palpable they must be known to the British people also. But who is there to carry your message to England? You certainly cannot expect *Reuter* to do it. You certainly do not believe that retired Anglo Indians will proclaim their own defects and shortcomings. On the contrary there are the standing official reports always to present a roseate view of the administration taking credit for whatever is good throwing the entire blame for all that is bad on your shoulders and justifying all sorts of repressive measures. The British public in their ignorance easily swallow all these *ex parte* cock and bull stories and consider the Indian administration to be a perfect Utopia. So you must have a counsel of your own to represent your case before the great tribunal of public opinion in Great Britain if you do not wish judgment to go against you by default. Sir William Wedderburn is performing this function at no small sacrifice to himself. India cannot repay the deep debt which she owes to him and his colleagues on the British Committee and the poet's words are her only satisfaction that a grateful mind by owing owes not but always remain indebted and discharged. Mr H F A Cotton the worthy son of a worthy father following in the footsteps of his illustrious parent has been doing yeoman's service to India. The British Committee and its sole organ *India* must be maintained at all costs if we are to carry on our operations at the vital front. It has always seemed to me of the utmost importance to associate with the British Committee at least one competent Indian permanently located in England. The great services rendered there some years back by the late Mr W C Bonnerjee and recently by our distinguished countryman Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta ought to be an object lesson to us. But for all these a permanent Congress fund is an imperative necessity. The granting of small doles by the Congress every year which are always larger in their arrears than in their payments and the undignified spectacle of one of the leaders every year extending his beggarly Brahmanical hand for such pittance is not the way of practical men engaged in practical business. There is no dearth of men who are rolling in the superfluities of their unearned heritages. Large sums of money are still spent throughout the country in mere shows and ceremonies of the most temporary interest, and if we cannot even raise so much as twice a couple of lakhs of rupees for the uplifting of the nation then are we rightly treated by our rulers as an inferior race and twitted by our critics as mere men of words indulging in "extravagant hopes" and "unrealisable demands."

Conclusion

Ladies and gentlemen I am afraid I have exhausted your patience although I have failed to exhaust my theme. My last words are to those bright young faces whom I see before me. My dear young friends and countrymen you are our hostages.

glories! You are Utlanders in your own motherland. In the burning words of the Father of the Congress—

"What avail your wealth, your learning
Empty titles, sordid trade?
True Self rule were worth them all!
Nations by themselves are made."

The Presidential Address.

The Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar

Barde Mataram

The President — Brother delegates we are pressed for time. The Subjects Committee must be formed and you must at once, province by province, form your Subjects Committee. You know that all ex-Presidents, the President of the year, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and our General Secretaries, as also the members of the All-India Congress Committee, are *ex officio* members of the Subjects Committee. Beyond that, each province has to elect a certain number of members for the Subjects Committee. Mr. Subba Rao will read the numbers out.

Elections to the Committee.

The President

Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu — The numbers are — 15 for Madras, 15 for Bombay, 20 for Bengal, 15 for United Provinces, 13 for Punjab, 7 for Central Provinces, 15 for Behar and Orissa, 5 for Berar, 2 for Burma, 5 for the British Committee of the Congress, and additional 10 for the province in which the Congress is held. The United Provinces will get 15 *plus* 10 or 25 members.

Mr. Subba Rao

The President — I believe you have heard them all. Now, you must proceed to give me a list of members of the Subjects Committee which you propose, province by province. You can select them amongst yourselves now or to-morrow morning, if you choose, but I must have it before 12 o'clock to-morrow. The Subjects Committee will meet at 12.30 and the All-India Congress Committee will meet at 11.30 A.M., with which many of you have no concern.

The President

The Congress then adjourned to 11 A.M. on the 28th December, 1916.

The 31st Indian National Congress.

Second Day's Proceedings.

Thursday, the 28th December, 1916

The Indian National Congress resumed its sitting at 12 noon on the 28th December, 1916. The hon Baba Amrita Charan Muzumdar presided. The proceedings, as usual, commenced with the singing of patriotic songs by a group of Bengali ladies and the pupils of the Hindu Girls' School of Lucknow.

The President said — 'Mr Subba Rao will place before the Congress certain telegrams which he has received'

Mr N Subba Rao then read a telegram received from Dewan Bahadur P Kesava Pillai, regarding the non Brahmin Manifesto issued in Malabar.

At this stage His Honour Sir James Meston, accompanied by Lady Meston and members of his personal staff, entered the Congress *mandal*, and was given a cordial and hearty welcome.

The President's Welcome Speech

The President addressing Sir James Meston, said — On behalf of the Congress and on my own behalf, I offer your Honour a most respectful and cordial welcome. I recall to day a chapter of the early history of this movement. In 1885 when the Congress was first started in Bombay, Sir William Wedderburn (loud cheers) Professor Wordsworth and other high officials attended *amicus curiae* to listen to its voice and to advise us. In the second Congress held at Calcutta, Lord Dufferin received a deputation of the Congress, headed by Mr Dadabhoi Naoroji. In the third Congress at Madras Lord Connemara received all the delegates. But here the curtain of official sympathy for the Congress dropped for a time. It has, however, been revived again. In 1914 Lord Pentland attended the Congress (Cheers). Now your Honour has graced this Congress with your presence. We take it that your Honour sympathises with the rising aspirations of the people (Cheers). Your Honour's Government has signalized itself by introducing certain measures with regard to the industrial development of the province and we hope and trust that your Honour's administration of the United Provinces will, also, be further signalized by handsome contributions to the growth and rise of privileges of the people of this country. In the name of the Congress, I extend to your Honour a hearty welcome and thank you for the honour you have done us to day, and I hope and trust that your Honour will live long and administer the affairs of the country to the satisfaction of the people, over whom you preside' (Cheers).

Three cheers were called for his Honour, and they were heartily responded to, accompanied by shouts of *Bande Mataram*.

Sir James Meston's Reply

His Honour Sir James Meston in reply to the welcome accorded to him said — 'Mr President and Members of the Indian National Congress, there has been between the Indian National Congress and myself from the day of its inception a curious link both in time and in sympathy. The Congress as you, Sir, have just reminded us, first saw the light in the year 1885 and that was the year in which I first began my endeavours to serve India (Cheers). Throughout these intervening 31 years I have thus had a unique opportunity of watching the development of this great movement, and I have watched it with interest and, believe me, not without sympathy (Hear, hear, and cheers). It is therefore a very special pleasure to me to be for the first time

Welcome
by the
President

H. H. Sir
James
Meston's
Reply

a guest and a visitor of your Congress meeting, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the warmth and sincerity of your wholly unexpected welcome" (Cheers.)

Condolence Resolutions.

The President — "Gentlemen, we begin work. We have a number of condolence resolutions which have to be put from the chair. The first refers to our late lamented friend Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar. The hon'ble Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru will read the resolution for me."

The hon Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru then read the following resolution —

I.—The late Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.

This Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the great loss which India has sustained by the premature death of Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar who won the esteem and confidence of his countrymen by his selfless and broad minded patriotism and rare intellectual attainments.

Resolution
I —
The late
Pandit
B N Dar.

The President — "Gentlemen, I wish you to carry the resolution standing in your places, in solemn silence."

The resolution was carried accordingly, the audience standing in solemn silence.

The President — "Gentlemen, the next resolution refers to Mr G Subramania Iyer. It will be read for me by the hon Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru."

The following resolution was then read by the hon Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru —

II.—The late Mr. Subramania Iyer.

This Congress expresses its profound sorrow at the death of Mr G Subramania Iyer whose fearless independence, fervent patriotism and great knowledge of public problems, specially of economic questions, will enshrine him in the grateful recollections of his countrymen.

Resolution
II —
The late
Mr Subra-
mania Iyer

The resolution was carried, the audience standing in solemn silence.

The President — "The next resolution refers to the late Mr Khare. It will be read similarly by the hon Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru."

The hon Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru read the following resolution —

III.—The late Mr. D. A. Khare.

This Congress deeply mourns the death of Mr Daji Abaji Khare who was one of the staunchest supporters of the Congress movement and rendered valuable services to the Congress as its Joint General Secretary.

Resolut on
III —
The late
Mr Khare

The resolution was carried, the audience standing in solemn silence.

The President — "The next resolution refers to the death of Lord Kitchener. It will be read by the hon Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru."

The hon Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru then read the following resolution —

IV.—The late Lord Kitchener.

This Congress expresses its deep sorrow at the great loss which the British Empire has sustained by the premature and tragic death of Lord Kitchener who was a great soldier and who rendered eminent services to the Empire during the present war.

Resolution
IV —
The late
Lord
Kitchener.

The resolution was carried, the audience standing in silence.

The President — "The next resolution refers to India's loyalty. It is a resolution which requires no justification or defence. However, it is our practice, first of all, to express our loyalty to the Throne. The hon. Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru will read the resolution for me."

The hon Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru then read the following resolution —

V.—India's Loyalty.

This Congress respectfully begs to convey to His Majesty on behalf of the people of India their deep faith and profound devotion to the Throne, expressing:

Resolution
V —
India's
Loyalty

allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire. This Congress prays that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success.

The resolution was carried with three cheers to His Majesty the King Emperor called by the Hon Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra.

VI —Arms Act.

The President — We come to the 6th resolution on Arms Act. I ought to tell you that according to all previous rules we allot ten minutes to the mover of a resolution and five minutes to every successive speaker, seconder or supporter. The Hon Mr Radha Kishan Das will move the resolution.

The Honble Mr Radha Kishan Das (U P), said — Mr President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen — After the publication of copies of the resolution which you have got with you, an addition has been made to the resolution which I have to move before this august assembly. This addition has been made with the permission of the Chair.

The resolution now reads thus — That in the opinion of this Congress the Indian Arms Act should be repealed and Indians should be entitled to possess and use arms on conditions similar to those which prevail in England, power being reserved to Local Governments to impose such restrictions as they may from time to time deem fit in the case of particular areas or tribes.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory which is rightly regarded by us as the Magna Charta of Indian liberties and which has been ratified from time to time by her illustrious successors and by a long line of distinguished statesmen lays down that equally with our English fellow subjects we shall be free citizens of the Empire irrespective of caste, creed or colour. (Applause)

Our present Sovereign King George V, to whose Throne and person the whole Indian Nation is deeply attached, has given repeated proofs of his special solicitude for India. The memorable Guildhall speech which he delivered as Prince of Wales on his return from our country would always be enshrined in our hearts as an invaluable treasure. (Hear hear)

The sympathetic utterances of His Majesty after ascending the Throne have given us fresh proofs, if any were needed, of the real interest which His Majesty takes in his Indian subjects. But the Indian Legislature in its inscrutable wisdom thought it fit in an unfortunate moment in the year 1878 to place on the statute book a measure which painfully impresses upon us the fact that we are not free citizens of the British Empire. (Cries of Shame)

And then there is a great anomaly. So long as you live in British India you are subject to this serious disqualification. But if you live in a native state in India, I believe you are free as any one in the rest of the world to possess arms. Does this state of things reflect any credit on British India? (Cries of No) I think it is a serious discredit. Under the Arms Act no Indian may possess or carry arms without special license, whereas Europeans, Eurasians, Negroes, Hottentots or Fiji Islanders may carry arms unquestioned. (Cries of Shame)

So long as the Arms Act is in force, could you by any stretch of imagination assert that you are treated as equal subjects of the Empire? (Cries of No, no)

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Arms Act is a gratuitous insult to the inhabitants of Hindustan who are not prepared to yield to any other nation, ay, even to the great British nation itself, in their sincere loyalty and deep devotion to their Sovereign. (Hear hear)

Brother delegates, are we disloyal? (Cries of 'No, no') I am glad you all say no. I also say no with you and I am sure that the whole world must agree with us on this point. (Cries of Yes)

Resolut on
VI —
Arms Act

The hon
Pandit
Radha
Kishan Das

Our religion our traditions, our warm oriental nature so responsive to every good act of courtesy and even our reasoned self interest, all combine to make us deeply loyal to the Throne of our gracious Sovereign. Were it not for this why should the Gurkhas, the Rajputs the Sikhs the Jats and the Pathans have been freely and boldly shedding their life blood in the great war which England and her Allies are waging in the cause of righteousness and freedom (A cry of 'Bengalee also') Yes, the Bengalis also (Then a cry of And the Tamus also) I beg your pardon I mean all Indians all of us—the list I gave you is not exhaustive. The question naturally arises why then this insult to the sentiment of a whole nation? I am lost in wonder. Gentle men how an enactment like the Arms Act has managed to survive so long? It should have died a natural death long ago (A voice 'Let it die now') I hope so.

It is incomprehensible how British statemanship has so long failed to realise a point, so obvious even to casual observers. Nor is it a mere question of sentiment with us. It goes to the very root of our national existence. So far as I am aware, history does not record another example of the complete emasculation of an entire nation in the way in which the Arms Act has emasculated and is emasculating the descendants of the valiant heroes and soldiers of Hindustan. It has crushed and is crushing our martial spirit. It has very nearly done its fatal work, and unless it is repealed without any further delay, the situation would become simply hopeless. Nor is this irreparable injury being done to our countrymen alone. It is a sad loss to the Government itself. We feel that if the Arms Act had not been enforced and Government had pursued a policy of greater trust and confidence in the people of this country this cruel war which has been protracted so long would have ended long before. The Government could have raised from the vast millions inhabiting this country an army which should have been sufficient to defeat the Central Powers at a much earlier date than it would otherwise be.

This great national assembly as early as 1885 in its second session raised a respectful but emphatic voice of protest against the policy of distrust pursued by the Government, and here, Ladies and Gentlemen I cannot refrain from quoting from the almost prophetic words of Raja Rampal Singh uttered by him in the Congress of 1885. He said —“Nor is it only we who shall have to regret and suffer for the mistaken policy that our government is unhappily pursuing in this matter. Look where you will around you in the world and you will see gigantic armies and armaments. There is trouble in store for the whole civilized world and sooner or later a tremendous military struggle will commence in which assuredly before it terminates Great Britain will be involved.

The trouble in store for the whole civilized world so sagaciously prophesied by Raja Rampal Singh in 1885 has come in the shape of Russian militarism and were it not for the great resources and mighty power of England and her Allies the cause of justice and freedom would have been lost for ever.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great faith in the justice loving instincts of England and I am fortified in that faith by her past history. Our revered leader Mr Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers), has, from time to time taught this lesson to us from his retirement. In fact, all our trusted and senior leaders whom God in his infinite mercy has spared for the uplift of the Motherland and who are present in this hall to day, have always inspired us with this belief. It is therefore, our clear duty to press for the repeal of the Arms Act at as early a date as possible and if we do so in all earnestness it is bound to be repealed. With these words Ladies and Gentlemen I commend this resolution for the acceptance of this august assembly. (Loud applause)

Dr T S Rajan (Madras) seconded the resolution and said —“Mr President your Honour, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In seconding the proposition of the hon Mr Radha Kishen Das, I am not here to make out a case for the repeal of the Arms Act. The proposition before you is self-evident. To argue that we should have our birthright, the right of every citizen to carry arms, an instrument of self protection needs no argument from me. We have by our sacrifice in the war, by the heroic blood of our brethren, by the millions and millions of lives we

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Dr T S
Rajan

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were able to give by our sympathy and by the peace which reigns in India to day, deserved more than ever this right to carry arms arms to protect the soul—strength of any living nation But you might say that there might be distrust Distrust, for what? Well can we or any race raise a war or a rebellion with a pistol or with an old mauser rifle in these days of howitzers and machine guns? No, certainly not You might say that an anarchist or a disloyal man will get hold of it I say that an anarchist will not get it, he gets it now because it is denied to the rest of the masses Let the anarchist or dacoit know that we are armed and that we can resist him, and let him know that we can protect our homes and the honour of our women Then, anarchism will die down and dacoities will go the way of all dacoities No man will then dare attack us, but because 200 millions are unarmed, we have been plundered and our homes have not been wholly protected Take, again, the case of the Government itself If Government assures us protection, it is through the aid of the police No police system on earth can protect all individuals of a nation, unless every man happens to have a policeman beside him Can Government give a policeman for every man in India? Certainly not Take the very police we have to day Is every policeman armed as he ought to be? There is an old rifle and an old revolver which is in every station taken in turn by constables on beat That is all that we have got Therefore, the possession of arms is a right of self defence and is the birth right of every individual citizen About disloyalty I need not say much because almost all the standing army in India has been removed and very few militia is kept Have we not proved in this strenuous time of war that our sympathy, our trust, and our connection with Britain should broaden, and have we not shown that we can be peace loving and law abiding citizens? It is on the strength of our traditions, of our sacrifices, of the individual right of every human being that we demand that the Arms Act must be repealed If we claim it as a right it is not because we want it, but it is because it is our right therefore, we demand it We are all equal citizens and we have been promised equal citizenship In the name of the great Charter I demand that the Arms Act should be repealed Therefore I put it before you that this resolution be carried unanimously

Dr Ranjit
Singh

Mr Mehta
Bahadur
Chand

Dr D R Ranjit Singh (U P) supported the resolution in Urdu
Mr Mehta Bahadur Chand (Punjab) in further supporting the resolution, said —

Mr President your Honour, Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—I think there are two fold reasons for binging and keeping the Arms Act on the statute book One reason may be that the Government do not trust the people and the other reason generally set forth is that if there is no Arms Act the criminal tribes that are in the habit of committing crimes if permitted to possess arms promiscuously, would molest the law abiding people The long experience of this Act that we have already had has made it clear as day light that these two reasons have no foundation whatever to stand upon I deal with the second reason first, because it is more concerned with the Punjab and I will then take up the first reason The experience of more than half a century has shown to the Punjab that this Act instead of protecting the law abiding and peaceful people has exposed them to danger and made them objects of merciless attacks by those that take pride in crimes In the Punjab we have still men who have seen the Sikh rule and remember the time when people were free to carry arms They tell us that bankers and money lenders were not subject to such merciless attacks and raids as they are now At that time dacoits and thieves thought that their lives were not safe if they raided They were conscious that their arms would be met by similar arms and they thought twice before they started for a loot because you can see that no one is prepared for the sake of loot to put his life at stake But now the things are changed Thieves and robbers think that wealthy persons are helpless that they have no weapons and arms to stand against them and so they say it is a mere play to commit a raid and kill anybody that may come before them They plunder thousands and then return home rich men in one assault in one night It is for this reason that you hear now everyday that severe raids are committed by frontier people on Hindus mind not the Hindus that live in Yaglustan and possess arms but Hindus that live in the British territory and possess no arms (Cheers)

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Arms Act

Mrs. Sorcar
J. N. D.

Empire (Hear, hear) In your name, O citizens of India I appeal to the representative of the great Emperor of this great Indian Empire to plead for our rights to support us in our claims to grant to the children of to-morrow the right that their forefathers of yesterday possessed (Cheers) Who but a woman shall raise a voice for you who have not been able in all these years to speak for yourselves with any effect (Cries of Shame) I come from a city where every man is privileged to carry arms—the Afrian, the Rohilla, and the Sikh do carry arms there—and never has it been said in my city of Hyderabad that all these various armed elements have ever been disloyal to the sovereign power. Shall not the greater portion of India British India take a lesson from that one native state that knows how to trust the loyalty of its subjects (Hear, hear) Have we not the women of India sent our sons and brothers to shed their blood on the battlefields of Flanders France Gallipoli and Mesopotamia? When the hour comes for thanks, shall we not say to them for whom they fought 'when the terror and tumult of hate shall cease and life is refashioned and when there is peace and you offer memorial thanks to the comrades that fought in the dauntless ranks and you honour the deeds of deathless ones remember the blood of martyred sons and remember the armies of India and restore to India her lost manhood (Loud cheers)

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously amidst great cheering

His Honour Sir James Lady Meston and the party left the Congress *pandal* after shaking hands with some of the leading Congress men on the platform. As they were leaving the *pandal* Babu Bhupendranath Basu called for three cheers for Sir James and Lady Meston and they were responded to with great enthusiasm

VII—Volunteering and Commissions in the Army

The Hon Mr B Venkatapathi Ray (Madras) moved the following resolution—

Resolution
VII—
Volunteering and
Commissions in the
Army

The hon
Mr B Venkatapathi
Ray

- (a) In view of the baneful effect on the martial spirit of the whole race and of the military policy of the Government of India which is based on distrust and having regard to the natural rights of Indians to be allowed to train themselves to defend their hearths and homes in times of danger and their intense desire to serve the Empire in a military capacity in the opinion of this Congress justice as well as statesmanship demands that Government should allow Indians to enlist themselves as volunteers
- (b) On grounds of justice and expediency and in view of the military capacity of Indians as shown on the battlefields of Europe Africa and Asia this Congress earnestly appeals to the Government to throw open the commissioned ranks in the Army to Indians and to provide adequate facilities in India for training Indians as officers for the Army

In doing so he said—Ladies and gentlemen—This resolution is not new to the Congress. So far as volunteer corps was concerned a resolution was moved as early as 1886 in the Calcutta Congress under the presidency of our venerable grand old patriot Dada bhoi Naoroji (Cheers) The prophetic words contained in the framing of that resolution we have to remember in order to see how the short sighted statesmanship of Britain has brought not only baneful effects on India but also very serious consequences to themselves. That resolution runs thus—That in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe and the immense assistance that the people of this country if duly prepared therefor are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complication arising this Congress earnestly appeals to the Government to authorize a system of volunteering for all the inhabitants of the country such as would qualify them to meet any crisis. Remember how much loss of British manhood Britain is sustaining in order to fight for the cause of righteousness. Some of the soldiers at present return from battlefields in a maimed and crippled condition and an adequate number of people are wanted to take their places. Instead of following the blind policy of distrust if the Government had allowed Indians to serve as volunteers and to be trained in pro-

perly equipped military colleges, India can very easily supply not four or five millions only, but India can supply fifty millions. With such a large number, Britain can fight not only the one nation of Germany but fight all the world against her, because we can fight to the last man in the cause of righteousness and to serve our beloved Sovereign. You know, India is poor. We are obliged to spend one third of our national income—nearly thirty crores—every year for the maintenance of not a very large army, but only 75 000 British troops and a lakh and sixty thousand Indian army. I assure you that no other nation in the world is spending one third of its income on the army. After all, the army we have is very small in numbers, when we have to count millions wanted to defend the front extending to hundreds of miles as in the present war. Is it possible to raise and maintain such an army? No. For the simple reason that we cannot afford to spend a pie more. As it is, our education and our sanitation have been put back in order to serve the military defence of the country. The best remedy is to allow Indians to serve as volunteers. Perhaps, some of you are aware that twenty five years ago, in Madras, the Government allowed Indians, irrespective of caste or creed, to serve as volunteers. In those days while I was a young student at College, I served as a volunteer. Now, my servant, who is an Indian Christian, can join the Army, but I am not permitted to do so. (Cries of shame.) The policy they have to adopt should be based on consideration of the slender resources of India. Therefore, what we ask is that we may be allowed to serve as volunteers at all hazards and costs in defence of the cause of Britain and also to defend our hearths and homes. Perhaps such of those gentlemen who attended last year's Congress at Bombay might have heard the trusted leader, Sir S. P. Sinha who said that it was urgently necessary that we should be permitted to serve as volunteers, and he further said that military colleges should be started to train our young men for military ranks. He is now the executive member elect of the Bengal presidency. When he has said so, is there any difficulty for the Government, when there is unanimity of opinion all round us, to allow us to serve in the ranks of commissioned services and also as volunteers? (Cheers.) I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Mr B. C. Chatterjee (Bengal) seconded the resolution and said —

"Mr President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—I consider it a very high and sacred privilege to be asked to second this resolution. We are all asking for self government. But is it not a fact, is it not an universally acknowledged fact that people who aspire to discharge the noble, full and solemn responsibilities of self government must have the capacity, the readiness and the willingness to bear arms in defence of their hearths and homes and that they must have the capacity to repel external aggression and maintain internal order? Modern history, accentuated by the recent happenings in Europe has proved beyond question that those who would be citizens of the Empire must first be the soldiers of that Empire. (Hear, hear.) Ladies and gentlemen, in this resolution you are declaring that you recognise this paramount obligation that is upon you. You declare that you are not guilty of the unspeakable meanness of merely wanting to enjoy the loaves and fishes of civil government behind the shield of the British Army and the British Navy, but you say that you Indians are ready and are anxious to lay down your lives in the cause of the Empire of which you ask to be citizens. This is, gentlemen, the one fact of superlative importance for all of us to remember. The heart, the soul, the yearning passion and aspiration of young India are in this resolution. (Hear, hear.) If there is one fact which distinguishes the India of today from the India of yesterday, it is, if I may say so without impertinence that while our countrymen of a generation or two ago conceived the noble ideal of living for the motherland their children and children's children of today are aflame with the holier aspiration of dying for the motherland. (Cheers.)

Ladies and Gentlemen—Let us all remember that India the new India, that you all aspire to build up and mean to build up, especially an India that shall not only be worthy to live in, but an India that shall be worthy to die for. (Hear, hear.) In this resolution you are telling your rulers to guide and train this new born aspiration this desire and this longing into channels of legitimate fulfilment by making it first subserve

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in the Army

The hon
Mr B. C.
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Chatterji

the needs of India, and then of the Empire of which India is a part. Lastly, I would like to mention here that it has fallen to my lot to defend prisoners in a number of political cases. The conviction which has been borne in upon me in defending those cases is that the revolutionary propaganda in this country will disappear on the day this resolution is translated into fact (hear hear) that the revolutionary recruiter will disappear before the recruiting sergeant or the King Emperor, on the day that the young men of India know that there is an honourable legitimate and manly way open to them of realising the spirit of self consecration the spirit of service the spirit of self sacrifice and the desire to sacrifice as men and die as men as much as they desire to live as men which rules in the heart of every man. With these words I commend the resolution to your earnest acceptance. (Cheers)

Mr Yusuf Hussain Khan supported the resolution in Urdu

The Hon Mr R B Dwarika Nath (Bihar) further supported the resolution in

Hindi

The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously

VIII.—The Press Act

Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyar (Madras) then moved the resolution on the Press

Act. He said —

Mr President and friends — The resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows —

This Congress places on record its strong conviction that the Press Act of 1910 has proved a menace to the liberty of the Indian Press and has hampered the legitimate expression of healthy public opinion which is so essential to good administration and in view of the wide and arbitrary powers conferred by the Act upon the Executive this Congress strongly urges the Government to repeal it.

Mr President and Brother delegates — I do not propose to speak to you upon the larger aspects of the question which are self evident. The task has been done by that great Seer of England Milton when he wrote his *Areopagitica* in which he proclaimed the truth which could never be too often and too rigorously emphasized that an essential of good Government is to keep it in touch with the governed that its ear should be placed near the ground so as to hear the rumblings of the populace. It is the privilege and duty of the Government to see that they act in consonance with popular hopes and aspirations. What did Sri Rama do in the old days? Have you not heard that he went out in the night to see what the people said about the daily acts of administration? Those were days before the printing press and you will find that Kautilya lays down that a *sine qua non* of a good ruler is to keep in touch with popular sentiments everywhere. It is therefore unnecessary for me speaking before you to lay any special emphasis upon the necessity for government to keep *en rapport* with the public to see what the public is thinking. Half the mistakes, half the follies that the Government of India has committed are due to the fact that the Civil Service is not in touch with the people of this country (hear hear) and many of our aspirations are not properly heeded. The necessity for moving the previous three resolutions is due to the fact that the Government and the people are unfortunately not feeling alike on many matters.

So far as the Press Act is concerned the law relating to the Press in India has had a curious periodicity. With the beginning of settled administration in Bengal came the Press but then, as now, the Government or a few officials connected with the Government thought that every attack upon them personally was an attack upon Government. If you read the history of the Indian Press from the year 1780 for ten years or so there were several deportations and official censorship because some of the papers criticised not official acts but the doings of specific officers. Some time later—about 1835—came the emancipation of the Indian Press, and for a long time the Indian Press enjoyed a liberty which it did not abuse in any manner. I shall not deal with the history of the Press until 1908 when the Newspaper Incitement to Offences Act was passed. Even in that Act, passed during a moment of crisis there are safe-

Mr Yusuf
Hussain
Khan

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B Dwarika
Nath

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Mr C P
Ramaswami
Aiyar

guards and adequate preventives for thoughtless executive action which are absent in the latest Act of 1910. In the Act of 1908—there is a provision that action should be taken only on the initiative of a local government and provision was also made for appeals to the High Court. Coming to the Act of 1910 you know what has been happening of late. The Act of 1910 has proved a serious menace as the resolution proclaims to the liberty of the Indian Press. The giving of security the placing of a Press under official rigour and control is the normal feature the rule rather than the exception and according to the recent judicial pronouncements that action is also totally uncontrolled. You will find if you read the records of that case in which Mrs. Besant was concerned (cheers) that a magistrate is a kind of—I will not say benevolent but—malevolent despot. What he does is practically beyond the pale of criticism or cavil in a court of law. The High Court of Madras felt incumbent upon itself to pronounce that the magistrate purporting to act under the Press Act had outstripped his limits and his jurisdiction but their Lordships said that they were powerless to revise his order. You will find reading that Act through that there are provisions of ingenious perversity which make it clear that the executive is at liberty to work its will and pleasure on the Indian Press. You will find that everything that a magistrate does is beyond question. I may recall to your minds the judgments in the *Comrade* case in which Sir Lawrence Jenkins tried to express a sense of impotence at the vagaries of the executive in the working of the provisions of the Press Act and he said that by construing section 4 of the Indian Press Act, as it might conceivably be there is nothing on earth which cannot be brought within the meshes of the provisions of that Act by an ingenious and distorted mind. In these cases coming to the merits of the case take the pronouncements of the judges themselves. Three judges can and do differ on the interpretation of every sentence of a particular article and come to the conclusion that section 4 is applicable to one part or to another. It is not possible for the layman to disentangle any rule of conduct out of the judgments and it makes the life of a journalist intolerable when he does not know how the caprice of a judge may interpret any particular paragraph. The real difficulty is that the Press Act is designedly framed to give a loophole to the caprice of any person who has the ordering and working out of the Act. In the course of the application of the Press Act it places the liberty and freedom of the journalist entirely in the hands of the magistrate.

It was said during the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council that warnings would be administered to a peccant journalist but it has been found by bitter experience that these provisions as to warnings were never intended to have any operation. It was found in the case of Mrs. Besant that in a certain issue of her paper the question of the virtues and vices of Indian domestic servants was discussed and a letter was sent to her by the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor and that letter was treated as a warning so as to begin the process of securities and forfeiture under the Press Act (cries of shame.) You will find that there are ample safeguards so far as the executive are concerned but there are no safeguards so far as the individual is concerned and that is the nature of the Act which is daily and hourly menacing the liberty of a journalist in India. We therefore call upon the Government to repeal the Act. It is impossible to mend it. Whether you take the provision as to security or the absence of a specific rule as to warning or as to the old press being outside the Act or whether you take pronouncements—solemn pronouncements—on anything connected with the Act you will find a medley of inconsistencies and series of broken pledges words and promises. That has been the history of the Act. The path of the Press Act has been strewn with broken promises and the working of the Act is fraught with the utmost and incalculable consequences in the direction of mischief. If the Act is allowed to be administered as today the Indian Press is not safe and when I say it it means that the Government too is not safe because it must be recognized that to the extent to which there is a free and independent Press as a proper index of popular feeling which can keep the Government informed of the true wishes and aspirations of the people of the country to that extent alone is the Government likely to act rightly and fulfil the proper duties of Government. In so far therefore as this Act has proved

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Ramaswami
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a serious menace to the liberty of the Indian Press and does not enable the Government to see eye to eye with the governed in regard to matters affecting the administration of the country or even to find out what people are truly thinking to that extent we say that this Act is one which should no longer disgrace our statute book

There is one more matter in connection with the Press Act. It will be remembered that even in relation to the appellate powers of the High Court, which are given in the Press Act a curiously narrow and distorted view has been taken so as to make the High Court practically impotent not only in cases where a certain person has said things which may or may not come within the ambit of section 4 but even in cases where Magistrates who are under the jurisdiction of the High Court have gone manifestly wrong. Does the Legislature contemplate that it is a wise or proper thing to do to let every aggrieved person under the Act to a suit, when speedy justice is what is desirable? When a person has to go to the High Court with a suit in connection with every proceeding under the Act, the situation is absolutely intolerable and the only remedy is not to mend the Act but to end it. The resolution before you is to call upon you to demand that the Press Act which is a menace to the Government and the governed should be done away with. (Loud applause)

Mr B. G.
Pradhan

Mr B. G. Pradhan (Bombay), in seconding the proposition, said—Mr President, Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—I feel that it is impossible in a short five minutes speech to give adequate expression to my views and sentiments on the Press Act which I believe I can justly characterize as extremely obnoxious. You will see from the wording of the resolution that this Act has been described in the resolution as having proved a menace to the liberty of the Press in India. I go further and maintain that not only has it proved a menace to the liberty of the Press in India but it has as a matter of fact, deprived the Indian Press entirely of the freedom which it enjoyed until 1910 when this Act was enacted. In this view I am supported by the memorable judgment delivered by Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the *Comrade* case and recently by the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court in the case of *New India* conducted by that great and gifted lady, Mrs. Besant. (Cheers.) Both these eminent judges have explicitly observed in their judgment that the Press Act has virtually deprived the Indian Press of its freedom so much so indeed that Sir Lawrence Jenkins said that if this Act were to be enforced with all the rigour with which, if the Government desired to enforce it it could be enforced even standard literature would come under the operation of the Act and would be entirely, as it were, killed. That is what Sir Lawrence Jenkins said in his judgment. You will further observe that reference is made in the resolution to the arbitrary power which are vested by the Act in the executive. Those two cases to which I have alluded just now clearly prove, how arbitrary and how absolute are the powers with which the executive are invested. In fact, what does the Act say? The Act says that if a party is aggrieved under the Act it might go to the High Court, it might make an application to that Court. The Act further says let the application be entertained, let notice be issued to the other side, let the Government not only that but let the learned judges give a patient hearing to the arguments that might be advanced by the learned counsel on behalf of the applicant. Not only that but here and there learned judges might put in expressions showing some sympathy with the injustice done to the applicant. But then the Act says to the highest judicial tribunal “Mind you, after all these formalities have been gone through the only power with which you are invested is to reject the application.” That is I submit, the Press Act in a nutshell. Now, I say, is it good, is it quite worthy of the enlightened British administration that this piece of legislation so arbitrary, so unjust and so obnoxious should be maintained on the statute book for any length of time? In 1835 when freedom was given to the Indian Press, the policy of freedom was adopted deliberately by the then Government. Possibly some of you might have read the minute of Sir Thomas Munro against a free Press in India. That minute was before the Government. All other views expressed by other publicists and statesmen at the time were before the Government of India, and the Government of India deliberately adopted the policy that the Press in India was to be a free Press and was not to be sub-

jected to harassing restrictions, and be it said to the credit of the British Government that this enlightened policy of freedom was on the whole followed until this Act of 1910 was enacted. Now, I ask the Government, are you going to make a departure from this time honoured and statesmanlike policy and keep this obnoxious piece of legislation permanently on the statute book? I appeal to the Government and say 'If you do it you would be unworthy of the enlightened, liberal and progressive traditions of British rule in this country.' I therefore urge on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford that the sooner he removes the Press Act from the statute book the better it will be. You probably know that His Excellency is going shortly to receive a deputation of the Indian Press Association. May I appeal to his Excellency to give an assurance to that deputation that the Press Act would be repealed at the earliest possible opportunity? If he does it and if he restores freedom to the Press in India—that freedom which the Indian Press enjoyed till 1910, on the whole to the benefit of British rule and to the progress of this country,—his name will be enshrined in the grateful recollections of the people of this country, just as the names of Metcalfe and Lord Ripon the Righteous are enshrined in the hearts of the Indian people. With these words I beg to second the resolution. (Cheers)

Mr Sadhu Ganapathi Pantulu (Madras), in supporting the resolution, said —

'Mr President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The enemy to the British Empire is not the German whom you will see the united armies of Britain and Britain's allies and Britain's constituent parts of the Empire will foil in a few days. The enemy to the British Empire in India is not the educated Indian, because his destinies are intertwined with the destinies of Britain. The enemy of British rule in India is not the anarchist, arm the Indians and he will cease to exist. But the enemy to British rule in India, the enemy to the permanence of British connection with this land, is he who wants to gag the Press. May I put it to you that in the year 1858 the British nation took upon itself the responsibility of ruling over this vast continent, its wonderful peoples with their different languages and different creeds, and they pledged themselves to a free and uncontrolled Press, free in the sense that they could give expression to views of whatever colour or whatever complexion, and uncontrolled in the sense that they would be controlled only by the general laws of the country. In the gracious Proclamation of Queen Victoria it is said 'In their contentment shall be our strength.' Friends, in what does contentment consist? *Is it in having only enough to clothe ourselves with and feed ourselves with?* That too is denied to us, because under the working of the Arms Act the little that we possess is taken away. We are not even permitted to speak out. Children have got only one weapon and that is crying. We unarmed people are no better than children. Shall we be deprived of the right and privilege to cry? Where shall we cry except in the Press? If the Press is to be subjected to the manifold difficulties and obnoxious conditions to which it is now subjected, as you have seen, can we say that the people of this country can make their voices heard? In our esteemed President's address you were told that with the Western institutions also came the Press. It is perfectly true that prior to British rule in India, public opinion, growing, healthy public opinion, was making itself heard and felt in the Councils of the Empire in a thousand ways. Now, when the seat of authority is in England, when the King there is ruling us through his agents and between those agents and ourselves there are differences and quarrels, how can we make ourselves heard in the Councils of the Empire except by having a free and uncontrolled Press? Gentlemen, it appears to me that not alone for our purposes but also for purposes of Government it would be necessary that they should know what we are feeling. I come from the southernmost district of the southernmost Presidency of this land. There the District Magistrate is under the impression that everything is all right,—there are very few who have enrolled themselves as members of the Home Rule League—but I venture to think that there cannot be a greater mistake. In that District live a number of people who will far outnumber the number of Home Rulers in any other district, but they dare not speak out. I happen to be the President of the District Congress Committee and the

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Mr. C. P.
Ramdas
Ayer

a serious menace to the liberty of the Indian Press and does not enable the Government to see eye to eye with the governed in regard to matters affecting the administration of the country or even to find out what people are truly thinking, to that extent we say that this Act is one which should no longer disgrace our statute book.

There is one more matter in connection with the Press Act. It will be remembered that even in relation to the appellate powers of the High Court, which are given in the Press Act, a curiously narrow and distorted view has been taken, so as to make the High Court practically impotent not only in cases where a certain person has said things which may or may not come within the ambit of section 4, but even in cases where Magistrates who are under the jurisdiction of the High Court have gone manifestly wrong. Does the Legislature contemplate that it is a wise or proper thing to do to tie every aggrieved person under the Act to a suit, when speedy justice is what is desirable? When a person has to go to the High Court with a suit in connection with every proceeding under the Act, the situation is absolutely intolerable and the only remedy is not to mend the Act but to end it. The resolution before you is to call upon you to demand that the Press Act which is a menace to the Government and the governed should be done away with. (Loud applause)

Mr. B. G.
Pradhan

Mr B G Pradhan (Bombay) in seconding the proposition, said — "Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—I feel that it is impossible in a short five minutes' speech to give adequate expression to my views and sentiments on the Press Act which I believe, I can justly characterize as extremely obnoxious. You will see from the wording of the resolution that this Act has been described in the resolution as having proved a menace to the liberty of the Press in India. I go further and maintain that not only has it proved a menace to the liberty of the Press in India but it has as a matter of fact, deprived the Indian Press entirely of the freedom which it enjoyed until 1910 when this Act was enacted. In this view I am supported by the memorable judgment delivered by Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the *Comrade* case and recently by the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court in the case of *New India* conducted by that great and gifted lady, Mrs Besant. (Cheers) Both these eminent judges have explicitly observed in their judgment that the Press Act has virtually deprived the Indian Press of its freedom so much so indeed that Sir Lawrence Jenkins said that if this Act were to be enforced with all the rigour with which, if the Government desired to enforce it it could be enforced, even standard literature would come under the operation of the Act and would be entirely as it were, killed. That is what Sir Lawrence Jenkins said in his judgment. You will further observe that reference is made in the resolution to the arbitrary power which are vested by the Act in the executive. Those two cases to which I have alluded just now clearly prove, how arbitrary and how absolute are the powers with which the executive are invested. In fact, what does the Act say? The Act says that if a party is aggrieved under the Act it might go to the High Court, it might make an application to that Court. The Act further says let the application be entertained, let notice be issued to the other side i.e., the Government, not only that but let the learned judges give a patient hearing to the arguments that might be advanced by the learned counsel on behalf of the applicant. Not only that but here and there learned judges might put in expressions showing some sympathy with the injustice done to the applicant. But then the Act says to the highest judicial tribunal "Mind you, after all these formalities have been gone through the only power with which you are invested is to reject the application." That is, I submit, the Press Act in a nutshell. Now, I say, is it good, is it quite worthy of the enlightened British administration, that this piece of legislation, so arbitrary, so unjust and so obnoxious, should be maintained on the statute book for any length of time? In 1835, when freedom was given to the Indian Press, the policy of freedom was adopted deliberately by the then Government. Possibly some of you might have read the minute of Sir Thomas Munro against a free Press in India. That minute was before the Government. All other views expressed by other publicists and statesmen at the time were before the Government of India, and the Government of India deliberately adopted the policy that the Press in India was to be a free Press and was not to be sub-

jected to harassing restrictions and be it said to the credit of the British Government that this enlightened policy of freedom was on the whole followed until this Act of 1910 was enacted. Now I ask the Government are you going to make a departure from this time honoured and statesmanlike policy and keep this obnoxious piece of legislation permanently on the statute book? I appeal to the Government and say If you do it you would be unworthy of the enlightened liberal and progressive traditions of British rule in this country. I therefore urge on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford that the sooner he removes the Press Act from the statute book the better it will be. You probably know that His Excellency is going shortly to receive a deputation of the Indian Press Association. May I appeal to his Excellency to give an assurance to that deputation that the Press Act would be repealed at the earliest possible opportunity? If he does it and if he restores freedom to the Press in India—that freedom which the Indian Press enjoyed till 1910 on the whole to the benefit of British rule and to the progress of this country,—his name will be enshrined in the grateful recollections of the people of this country just as the names of Metcalfe and Lord Ripon the Righteous are enshrined in the hearts of the Indian people. With these words I beg to second the resolution. (Cheers)

Mr Sadhu Ganapathi Pantulu (Madras) in supporting the resolution said —

Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—The enemy to the British Empire is not the German whom you will see the united armies of Britain and Britain's allies and Britain's constituent parts of the Empire will foil in a few days. The enemy to the British Empire in India is not the educated Indian because his destinies are intertwined with the destinies of Britain. The enemy of British rule in India is not the anarchist arm the Indians and he will cease to exist. But the enemy to British rule in India the enemy to the permanence of British connection with this land is he who wants to gag the Press. May I put it to you that in the year 1858 the British nation took upon itself the responsibility of ruling over this vast continent its wonderful peoples with their different languages and different creeds and they pledged themselves to a free and uncontrolled Press free in the sense that they could give expression to views of whatever colour or whatever complexion and uncontrolled in the sense that they would be controlled only by the general laws of the country. In the gracious Proclamation of Queen Victoria it is said

In their contentment shall be our strength. Friends in what does contentment consist? Is it in having only enough to clothe ourselves with and feed ourselves with? That too is denied to us because under the working of the Arms Act the little that we possess is taken away. We are not even permitted to speak out. Children have got only one weapon and that is crying. We unarmed people are no better than children. Shall we be deprived of the right and privilege to cry? Where shall we cry except in the Press? If the Press is to be subjected to the manifold difficulties and obnoxious conditions to which it is now subjected as you have seen can we say that the people of this country can make their voices heard? In our esteemed President's address you were told that with the Western institutions also came the Press. It is perfectly true that prior to British rule in India public opinion growing healthy public opinion was making itself heard and felt in the Councils of the Empire in a thousand ways. Now when the seat of authority is in England when the King there is ruling us through his agents and between those agents and ourselves there are differences and quarrels how can we make ourselves heard in the Councils of the Empire except by having a free and uncontrolled Press? Gentlemen it appears to me that not alone for our purposes but also for purposes of Government it would be necessary that they should know what we are feeling. I come from the southernmost district of the southernmost Presidency of this land. There the District Magistrate is under the impression that everything is all right—there are very few who have enrolled themselves as members of the Home Rule League—but I venture to think that there cannot be a greater mistake. In that District live a number of people who will far outnumber the number of Home Rulers in any other district but they dare not speak out. I happen to be the President of the District Congress Committee and the

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Two other points that I want to put before you are these The first one is that the safeguards that were promised—the promises that were solemnly made in the Imperial Legislative Council—have not been kept and the safeguards do not exist We were most solemnly assured that there were such safeguards—appeal to the High Courts etc—as would effectually prevent any sort of arbitrary treatment of the Press under this Act We have the deliberate judgments of two High Courts of the country that those safeguards are really entirely illusory One of the fears expressed by the non official members of the Council at the time of the passing of the Act—that it would put a fresh weapon of repression in the hands of the police—was a well grounded fear because the police possess so many extraordinary powers in this country that it must always be a matter of great care and caution before you put into their hands any fresh weapon But in reply to that Sir Herbert Risley or some one on behalf of the Government of India promised us that the police would not come in at any step in the administration of the Act Ladies and Gentlemen I say—I am prepared to justify it—I say from this platform that the police come in at every step in the administration of the Act (Cries of 'shame') The whole question of the respectability, if I may put it so of the proprietors of a newspaper, or the proprietors of a Press, rests in the hands of the Criminal Investigation Department (Cries of 'shame') And it is unnecessary for me, speaking to an audience of this character, to elaborate what that means to the character of any man in this country Those two solemn promises, I say emphatically and deliberately, have been broken by the administration Solemn promises made on behalf of the Government have been broken and are being broken in the operation of the Act from day to day and from week to week I ask whether we are to regard the solemn promises made on behalf of the Government as absolutely nothing That is the second point which I want to put before you

The third point is the unfair manner in which this Act is being administered as between certain classes of journals Anglo Indian papers in this country, with one exception are allowed to write as they like any sort of vilification of the people of this country (Cries of 'shame') They are allowed to use any sort of language bringing the people of this country into hatred and contempt of the Empire and nothing is done (Cries of 'shame') But we know and it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon what happens to the Indian journals that indulge in any sort of criticism of the behaviour of either race inhabiting this country I will just give you one instance of the hundreds I could give in order that you may realize the contrast between the treatment of these two classes of journals in India Mrs Besant (cheers) in her paper *New India* is not allowed to agitate the case of the Indian people in regard to the question of reserved compartments for Europeans and Eurasians (Cries of 'shame') but an Anglo Indian paper published in Bombay is allowed to publish an article, without a word of remonstrance from the Government advocating the use of physical violence as an ordinary factor in the treatment of Indian labour (Cries of 'shame') Ladies and Gentlemen that is a pretty bad example of the way in which this Act is administered and I can assure you it is not the worst case I have only given it to you because it came to my mind at the moment I could give you in addition to that many instances of the way in which perfectly honestly conducted newspapers, perfectly honest, perfectly loyal publications, have been suppressed and have been wiped out of existence under the operation of this Act, either for some unknown reason—reasons not given out by the Government—or because they have published some sort of criticism that has been found inconvenient—not by the Government but by the local District Officer in whose hands the administration of the Act lies in the first instance There again we have a great contrast in the treatment of one kind of publication and in the treatment of another And if I may be allowed to just detain you a minute longer, I will give you another instance of that (Cries of 'Go on') In Bombay, about a year or perhaps two years ago a very talented Gujerati novelist published a novel in which, in the scheme of the

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Secretary of the District Association, and our political leaders in Madras find fault with us and say that we are not able to show any work. How can we? We cannot, we have got to live before the magistrates and the police. The higher grade magistrates are one with higher police authorities between whom and them there is only a kind of domestic relationship if I may say so! You will see that magistrates depend for their promotion on the goodwill of the head constable. Under these conditions do you think it possible in a district like the one from which I come for people to come out openly and speak out openly what they feel? It is necessary therefore that the Press should be enabled to give vent to opinions of all shades and grades so that we might be heard if not in the district at least elsewhere. By that means we will make our own people and the officers about us feel that there is a public opinion elsewhere which keeps them under control and their vagaries will be checked and public work will be possible. I think there are also other places situated as my own district. If in other districts you want to organize work for the Congress it is necessary for you to see that with the only organ left to us for speaking out openly this Press Act is abolished altogether.

Mr Dun-
Chand

Mr Dunr Chant (Punjab) supported the resolution further in Urdu

Mr L G Hornsman (Bombay) in further supporting the resolution said —

Mr L G
Hornsman

"Mr President Brother-delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—I take it that it is not necessary to offer in this great Congress representing the people of India any argument on behalf of the principle of a free Press. And I take it therefore that the people of India are against any sort of Act or measure which in any way infringes that principle and which deprives the Press in any degree of its freedom of expression. Therefore after the speeches that you have already listened to I only propose to put before you as a working journalist and as the President of the Press Association of India a few facts with regard to the reasons or alleged reasons for which this Act is retained on the statute book and a few facts in regard to the way in which this Act is being administered.

We know that when this Act was brought before the Imperial Legislative Council the reason for its enactment given to the Council, given to the country, was the existence chiefly in Bengal of a phase of revolutionary activity which the Government had confessed itself unable to cope with. (Hear hear) Ladies and Gentlemen that was the reason for the enactment of this measure. I have followed the history of this Act since its very inception and I am one of those who maintained at the time and I maintain it now that that reason for the enactment of this measure did not even exist at the time it was enacted. (Hear, hear) I tell you why. Because the phase of revolutionary activity which it was enacted to deal with—the existence of a certain class of news papers which were supposed to be and were no doubt conducting seditious agitation by veiled means—that particular class of papers had already I think I may safely say, ceased to exist partly by the operations of the ordinary laws of human nature by the operation of the economic factors of business by which you cannot attempt to keep up a supply if there is no demand and partly because the ordinary law of the land had already extinguished the chief exponents of that particular phase of journalism in Bengal. I think the Bengal delegates here will bear me out when I say that papers like *Frinds Matarani* and others had already come to grief by the prosecutions brought against them under the ordinary clauses of the Indian Penal Code. Therefore I maintain that when this Act was passed it was unnecessary for the purpose which were put forward as the justification of its enactment and it was passed really for very different reasons—not to suppress real revolutionary activity in the Press but in order to put into the hands of the executive a convenient weapon for repressing inconvenient criticisms which they could not bring under the operation of the clauses of the Penal Code. (Cheers.) Well then Ladies and Gentlemen if the justification that was put forward did not exist at the time, very much less does it exist now. And I say deliberately on this platform that I defy the Government of India or any provincial Government in this country to lay before the country any sort of a reasoned case in justification of the

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novel there was the character of an Indian returned from Europe who attempted—I think I am giving the correct version—to introduce into his community all sorts of western culture which they did not want. In the course of the novel, various characters indulged in a good deal of criticism of western ways of living and western ways of thinking. That novel—I do not know whether it was on that account—was suppressed, and I think we may fairly presume that it was suppressed not because the writer expressed his opinions but because certain characters in his book expressed the opinions that Western culture was not desirable in an oriental land (Cries of shame). Today at the present moment there is appearing in certain Anglo Indian journals a serial story a novel written by an Englishman written by a member of the Educational Service of Bombay the whole tone of which from beginning to end is if not a vilification of the people of this country of such a nature as to imbue the readers ignorant readers, with hatred and contempt of the people of this country (Cries of Shame). Ladies and Gentlemen the one book is promptly suppressed and the other is enjoying a flourishing existence in the columns of European journals in this country (Cries of 'shame').

Ladies and Gentlemen apart from the general principle of the freedom of the Press these are the reasons for which we ask for the repeal of the Press Act—first of all because the reasons which were put forward at the time it was passed to justify it did not exist and do not exist now secondly because the promises that were made in regard to the safeguards in the Act have been broken and thirdly because it is demonstrably being administered in an unfair and invidious way as between one class of journals and another as between one race and another Ladies and Gentlemen if I have said enough to justify us in asking the Government of India to repeal this iniquitous Act if I have done that I am satisfied (Houd Applause.)

Mr S F
Ali

Mr Shauk Fia Ali further supported the resolution in Urdu

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously

IX.—Indentured Labour.

Resolution
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Mr M A Gandhi (Bombay) who was received with loud cheers and amidst cries of Hindi Hindi said—

Mr M K
Candl

Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—I notice that there is an appeal made to me by my Tamil brethren that I should speak to them in English and I am going partly to accede to their importunity but I want to make an appeal in return that during the next year if they do not learn the *lingua franca* which I know will be the *lingua franca* (Hear hear) when *Swaraj* is granted to the whole of India if you do not do so during the ensuing year you will do so at your peril so far as I am concerned (Cheers) I shall read the resolution in English which I propose to read afterwards in Hindi also. The resolution runs as follows—

- (a) This Congress strongly urges that indentured emigration should be stopped by prohibiting the recruitment of such labour within the ensuing year
- (b) In the opinion of this Congress it is highly desirable that at least one representative Indian selected after consultation with associations voicing Indian public opinion be appointed by the Government of India to take part in the forthcoming inter departmental Conference to be held in London for the consideration of this question
- (c) This Congress earnestly requests that the reports of Mr Marjoribanks and Honble Mr Thambi Marakkyar and of the inter departmental committee be published for general information and discussion before any action is taken thereupon

The pressmen and the delegates who have copies of the resolution with them will kindly note that there is a verbal alteration in clause (a) that instead of the word "during the resolution will read within. It is made at the instance of a friend who be afraid that the Government might consider that we would be satisfied indentured

emigration was suspended during the ensuing year whereas our meaning is that it should be abolished for ever. In clause (b) also you will note that there is an addition of the word "Indian" before the words "public opinion".

Mr. Gandhi read the resolution in Hindi and explained the object of the resolution.

The Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao (Madras) in seconding the resolution said — Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen — The subject of this resolution has come before this Congress year after year for the last ten or twelve years and the main features of the subject are already before you and are quite familiar to you. It seems to me therefore quite unnecessary on my part to attempt to give to you a detailed history of this subject. The mover of this resolution, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak, have come year after year and have explained the position in South Africa and have eloquently urged before this assembly the abolition of the indentured system. Mr. Gandhi has without any arms or any weapons for which so many eloquent appeals have been made today, solved the problem by the passive resistance movement which he has inaugurated in South Africa for a settlement of this question. In consequence of their labours, the late Mr. Gokhale visited that country and in our Imperial Legislative Council pleaded very eloquently for the abolition of the indenture system. There was another debate in 1917 and in consequence of those representations a committee was appointed which is known as the McNair and Chimanlal Committee and the facts elicited by that Committee are already before the country. The whole question has been examined from the political, social and economic aspects and the recent system of indenture has been condemned by that Committee and by the whole body of public opinion in this country as a great stain on the national honour and national respect of India. It seems to me therefore absolutely unnecessary to attempt within the short time at my disposal an exhaustive review of this question. On all accounts it has been found that this system has produced social and moral degradation and has no benefit whatever from the economic standpoint. The political aspects of the question are already before you and as I have said the whole question has been reviewed very recently and His Excellency Lord Hardinge's Government issued a resolution promising the abolition of the indenture system. Therefore the question has been solved but quite recently it has been found that a set back or step backwards was about to be taken and that an alternative scheme after the abolition is finally sanctioned is contemplated and it is the purpose of this resolution to express on behalf of this great Congress that we regard the system as a great stain on our self respect as undesirable from every point of view and that there is no half way before this is wholly wiped out. The whole system must be abolished at once and for ever and that is the purpose of the first part of the resolution.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you are all aware that it is proposed to have an inter departmental Conference sometime next year and we have been assured that there would be representatives from India. We are all aware that on the constitution or composition of this inter departmental Conference will depend a great deal of the success or otherwise of the Conference. It has been suggested that we Indians cannot enter into the feelings of the colonials who will be in the Imperial Conference and it was urged that either commercial men or retired officers of the Indian Civil Service should represent our views. It is the purpose of the second part of the resolution to enter an emphatic protest against any mistake of that kind being perpetrated. You are all aware that it is our object that the Indian standpoint should be fairly represented at this Conference. And we therefore urge that representative Indians in consultation with chief political associations in the country should be selected and sent to the Imperial Conference. This indenture question has already suffered from being looked at purely from the standpoint of the colonies. The standpoint of India is entirely different and it can only be represented effectively by Indian representatives who command public confidence in this country and who can be selected only in consultation with Indian public bodies.

The third part of the resolution is intended to secure the publication of two reports one of these is in connection with the enquiry which is now proceeding in

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The hon.
Mr. M.
Ramachandra Rao

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Ramachan-
dra Rao

southern India. It has been found there, and it has been officially admitted in Southern India that the unindentured system or free emigration has more evils than the indenture system, and that there is the same chicanery, the same fraud, the immorality and the same social degradation, and the Government was forced to appoint a committee to enquire into this question. It is not within our province to secure a suitable constitution of these committees. Local Governments ought to deal with them from their own standpoint. But we can at least know what their conclusions are, and it has happened more than once that these reports are disposed of and finally dealt with without public opinion being ascertained on the reports of the Conferences and on the reports of special committees. It is therefore for the reasons that the third clause has been inserted in the resolution, I, therefore, commend the resolution for your acceptance’ (Cheers)

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously

X—Indians in the Colonies.

Mr H S L Polak (South Africa), who received a great ovation, said —

‘*Mr President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—The resolution that I

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Mr H S L
Polak

am asked to propose reads as follows —

That this Congress reiterating the resolutions passed at the previous sessions of the Congress on the subject of the treatment and status of British Indians in the self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies of the Empire, once more places on record the ever growing sense of dissatisfaction at the continued ill treatment of Indian settlers in those Dominions and Colonies and expresses the earnest hope that, as a result of the growing feeling of cohesion among the constituent parts of the Empire due to the present world wide war, the statesmen and people of Greater Britain will take a more liberal and Imperial view of the status of the Indian settlers in those parts.

Ladies and Gentlemen, when, in 1910 India prohibited the further recruitment of indentured labour for the province of Natal in South Africa, a new chapter in the relations of India and the Dominions and the Crown Colonies was opened, and the page was formally turned when, at the Congress at Calcutta in 1911, I had the privilege of announcing Mr Gokhale’s approaching visit to South Africa. That visit had an enormous influence upon the condition of affairs there. Mr Gokhale’s own wonderful personality made an immense impression upon the minds of a large number of broad minded and public spirited men in South Africa, and even among the unlearned he was described as the ‘Coolie King’ (Laughter). Ladies and Gentlemen, you will understand that for the first time it was realised by a large number of people in South Africa that India did not produce coolies alone but that it could produce if necessary, a king. (Cheers). Mr Gokhale’s influence did not disappear after his departure from South Africa, for even when in the dark days of 1913, the Indian community passed through a period of trial and tribulation such as had hitherto been unknown, there were still large numbers of Europeans in South Africa who deplored what was being done in the name of South Africa and who either publicly or privately denounced it. And it was made possible by that visit for the settlement of 1914 to be effected—a settlement that is today in existence—and that laid down the lines upon which the Indian community of South Africa was to progress and not only that, but the main relations between India and the Dominions. The two principal points that were settled by that agreement of 1914 were (1) that in a British Dominion there should not be direct racial legislation, and (2) that in all matters vitally affecting the interests of the Indian community, that community should be consulted in some way or another. Now, since the war—the settlement practically coincided with the war—since the war, the South African Indian community has felt bound by a kind of self denying ordinance not to press on the attention of the Union Government certain outstanding matters that were not made the subject of the settlement for the settlement could not possibly settle every conceivable outstanding dispute, and among these outstanding points, for example is the prohibition of Indians in the Transvaal to own fixed property in their own names, I mention this merely as an example. Indians have, during the last 2½ years, confined themselves to making various private representations to the Government and also to

offering their assistance to the Government in any possible capacity. You may have learnt that they have supplied two Double Bearer Companies for service in East Africa and some of those bearers have devoted not only their services but their lives to the Empire to which they have been glad to give themselves. (Hear hear.) Notwithstanding these things, I should be lacking in a sense of proportion if I were to suppose or lead you to suppose that conditions in South Africa are absolutely happy. I have the assurance of the Minister of the Interior that it is the desire and intention of the Union Government to adopt an attitude of sympathy and consideration for the Indian residents in South Africa. And that assurance we are bound to take at its full value. But Governments even in the self governing dominions do not always possess the powers that they would like to possess while they have a knack of disappearing in the melting pot—and we had recently instances of that. Permanent officials are permanent and some of them are tactless and unsympathetic. Then again we have to reckon with another permanent element in the situation and that is the trading jealousy of considerable proportion of the European population. For example notwithstanding the fact that there is a general idea of give and take in South Africa today there are still Europeans in South Africa who are openly advocating the denial of trading rights to Indians. I know that in the Transvaal not only are fresh trading rights denied but even existing trading rights are being refused renewal. I will give you an extraordinary example of inconsistency in a self governing Dominion. It is this: the municipalities of the Transvaal have had delegated to them power by the Government to issue or refuse to issue trading licenses in regard to the sale of foodstuffs, and certain municipalities have actually issued to certain Indian traders such licenses for their stores in one street of a particular municipality, on the ground that these traders were thought fit persons to possess that right and they have refused to the same traders the right to have similar licenses for another store in the same municipality on the ground that they were undesirable persons to possess them. Inconsistency could go no further. I am a South African at least by adoption but I cannot possibly defend it or explain it.

The South African influence has not been confined to South Africa. It has extended to the neighbouring Portuguese territory, though there I am glad to say under the Republican regime there has been a decided improvement, nevertheless the economic relations between the Portuguese Government of East Africa and the Union Government are so close and intimate that one never knows when the next turn of the screw is coming. But the South African influence has extended still further northwards. If one goes to East Africa today, one goes to a country where the Indians are in an overwhelming majority—a country which owes its very existence as part of the Empire today to Indian enterprise and which would never have been admitted into the Empire but for the labours and enterprise of Indian themselves, but where a certain number of European settlers from South Africa have gone and have exercised their influence in a most reactionary manner upon the local administration. You will be astonished to learn that although the Indians there are in such an overwhelming majority, they have not a single representative in the local Legislative Council. I have here a cablegram from East Africa appointing Mr Jeevanjee of East Africa and myself to represent the Indian community there at this Congress which reads as follows:—

We empower you to move a resolution re elective representation of British Indians for the East African Legislative Council in proportion to their numbers and economic interest.

It is not possible to move and pass a resolution like this at this Congress which is so busily engaged with a large number of other matters, but the point that I want to draw your attention to is this: that the East African Indians overwhelming in numbers and economic interest though they are absolutely prohibited from having any voice in the administration of the country. And what do we find? The moment martial law is proclaimed the political organization that they built up in order to deal with the grievances was destroyed by a stroke of the pen. Mr L. W.

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Mr H S L
Polak

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Ritch, who was serving the Indians there, was deported without trial (Cries of 'shame'). There are now actually in the jails in East Africa gentlemen who did not know really what the charges against them are (Cries of 'shame'), who were first of all sentenced to be shot and who, by the intervention of a high judicial officer, have now had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. And yet, they did not know what the real charge was (Cries of 'shame'). And they have been convicted by a martial law tribunal. When I myself tried to land in Mombassa, when I was coming to India, I found that although my fellow-passengers, including aliens, were permitted to land, I alone was prohibited, and when I enquired why, I was told that it was not in the public interest to give an answer. I think an answer must be demanded. After all, I was not proceeding in a quite private capacity, and it was in the interest of the Government of East Africa that friends of Government and of the Indian community should come in contact with them.

The influence of South Africa extends still further. That influence extends to the neighbouring protectorate of Zanzibar. Up to now, Zanzibar has enjoyed a considerable freedom, and Indians who are there, almost to the complete exclusion of Europeans, have had a relatively easy time. But they are simply dreading the day when they will be brought into political association with East Africa and so brought under the South African yoke. You will thus understand what has been the effect of the domination of certain elements in South Africa, not only upon the vast majority of people in South Africa, but also upon the people in far distant territories.

And yet, we have an agitation promoted in this country today by a gentleman who is travelling in this country on behalf of an organization known as the Round Table (Cries of 'shame') and propagating the idea, the political idea, that India should be governed not only by Great Britain but also by the self governing Dominions because they are self governing (Cries of 'never never'). I myself came from one of these self governing Dominions. I have seen with my own eyes what this self government means in South Africa. Have I not seen during the last ten years what has been the position of your fellow countrymen and my fellow subjects under a self governing Dominion? Have I not seen what is the position of the native population? Have I not seen actually during this war a widespread rebellion, not by Indians, but by Europeans, in South Africa? When I have seen these things, then I must admit that although there is almost perfect self government constituted in theory in South Africa, South Africans as a whole have not yet risen to the full height of self government, and even supposing that they had that would not entitle them to any share in the government of this country. I should be lacking in a sense of duty if I refrained from referring to a matter that has come to my notice within the last few days since my arrival in Northern India. I mention it because I wish to dissociate myself from the sentiments therein contained, very emphatically and publicly. This is a printed document marked private, but I am not abusing confidence, because I understand that this document is now being widely circulated and published. It is intended, therefore for secret reading and is addressed by the same gentleman to Round Table groups all over the globe a document which I hold in my hand but which I do not propose to read (Cries of 'Read, read'). No, no. I will read an extract presently from it. I tell you that this is a document which contains statements which, as an Englishman, I am ashamed to read, and from which I wish to dissociate myself publicly, for I feel the gentleman who has written this document has abused the laws of hospitality (Cries of 'He is not a gentleman'), and with the connivance of highly placed Government officials has made it plain that there is a deep laid conspiracy in this country, in which undoubtedly Government officials are taking part, to bring India under the control of the self governing Dominions (Cries of 'shame'). I want to read this particular sentence which I think, gives you some idea of the spirit of the whole letter —

"We must do our best to convince them (i.e., the Indian nationalists) of the mischief to their own cause wrought by the deliberate campaign which is on foot here to embitter feeling against the Dominions. The cultivation of hate here as in Ireland is the greatest of all the obstacles to freedom, an *ignis fatuus*, which only leads men into an ever deepening

morass But anything we say will be futile unless we have taken the trouble to study their position at first hand I must make the leaders scattered over India feel that I have been at pains to learn their aspirations from their own lips and to try and understand them We shall do positive harm if they have reason to say that we offer opinions on questions vitally affecting this vast community without even discussing with Indians what Indians have to say on the subject

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So here you see the pretence of consulting Indian public opinion and then writing a book whose thesis was pre determined I say that this is hypocrisy of the first order Bear in mind, gentlemen that this is written by the gentleman who in the main was responsible for driving your fellow countrymen in South Africa into revolt and into agony for a period of eight years He was the principal official concerned in South Africa with that evil thing that anti Asiatic Legislation which drove your countrymen to despair there If I were an Indian myself I should decline to reside indefinitely in an Imperial penumbra while my favoured brothers and sisters were basking in imperial sunshine I have myself come from one of those Dominions and I have learnt much I will not certainly do anything that would arouse any degree of hatred on the part of India against any of the Dominions because I believe that such a feeling would be unjust and unwarranted because there are important and permanent elements of sympathy in South Africa in favour of the aspirations and ideals of India and in favour of proper treatment being accorded to Indians in South Africa I have during the last two years made a large number of friends there who before were my enemies or at least public opponents in Indian questions I am confident that they at least would have nothing to do with any propaganda of this kind which they would regard as in the nature of a stab in the back That would be the real answer of the South Africa democracy Do not be under any delusion that the sentiments expressed in this document are shared by the real people of South Africa The democracies of the Dominions are not in favour of this They have not expressed as far as I know, any real desire to participate in the Government of India because they have their own troubles which they are finding it almost impossible to cope with effectively

I should like to say, before I resume my seat that so long as I have any breath in my body, I at least personally will devote all my energies to combat this evil so far as I possibly can (Loud applause)

Mr G A Natesan (Madras) in seconding the resolution said — Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—Our friend, Mr Polak referred to the attempt made by a representative of the Round Table in league with the highest officials here to bring India under the heels of the Dominions It is my misfortune now to inform you that this ignoble conspiracy has already become a fact, that the Dominions so far as one can believe from a cable which has just been received, are to be our masters In the *Pioneer* of the 28th there is a telegram which has astonished me and I am sure it will astonish you too here It is said that all the prime ministers of the Dominions have been invited to a Conference which will be a series of War Council meetings to discuss war organizations and after war problems The Secretary to the Colonies telegraphed to the Dominions yesterday as follows —

Mr G A
Natesan

His Majesty's Government does not contemplate holding a session of the ordinary Imperial Conference but a special War Conference of the Empire Therefore the Government invites your Premier to attend a series of special War Cabinets to consider—mark you the words—urgent questions arising out of the prosecution of the war and the possible conditions under which we should assent to peace and the problems arising out of that For the purpose of these meetings your Premier will be a member of the Cabinet In view of the urgency and the importance of the subjects for discussion it is hoped that your Premier will attend not later than the end of February, and if unable to attend will appoint a substitute It does take one's breath away to read this cable

At this stage Mr Natesan was interrupted by a delegate who showed him some newspaper

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Mr Natesan continuing said — Whether this be a fact or not and even if one or two representatives of India might be added I wish to inform everyone here that it seems to me an outrageous proceeding that steps of this character should be taken without giving a voice to India also. The example of South Africa is a standing monument of the way in which the rights of Indians in the Colonies are treated and it should be made known and it should be a message from you that whatever is done if India is not to be given a voice in the settlement of affairs and India is not given a position equal to that of the representatives of the Colonies India will take it as a deliberate insult and will resist it. It seems a cruel mockery that when our countrymen are shedding their blood in common with the Colonies when we have complained of the treatment of Indians in the Colonies and are still passing a resolution protesting against several items of ill treatment I say it seems a mockery and an insult to us that the Colonies only are taken into consultation in the settling of questions. It is possible that a representative of India might be taken but why should this news be given as an after thought? Why should not India be thought of at first? It is such treatment that we resent. We want to be put on a position of equality and if we are not going to get that I say on behalf of myself and on behalf of this Congress and on behalf of everyone interested in the honour and self respect of India that we shall not allow the Government to have its last say on this great subject. (Cheers)

Mr V N
Tivary

Mr V N Tivary (U P) supported the resolution in Hindi

Mr S P
Bose

Mr S P Bose further supported the resolution in an eloquent speech

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously

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XI — Planters and Ryots in Bihar

Planters and
Ryots in
Bihar

Babu Bray Kuthore Prasad (Bihar) then moved the resolution regarding the grievances of Ryots under Indigo Planters in Bihar. He said —

Babu Bray
Kuthore
Prasad

Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen — The resolution which I propose to place before you runs thus —

This Congress most respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of appointing a mixed committee of officials and non officials to enquire into the causes of agrarian trouble and the strained relations between the Indian ryot and the European planter in North Bihar and to suggest remedies therefor

Ladies and Gentlemen I will tell you the circumstances under which we people of Bihar have brought forward this resolution before the National Assembly. Most of you may not be aware that in the four districts of North Bihar there are hundreds of indigo concerns which were originally established for the purpose of growing and manufacturing indigo. It was necessary to have land to grow indigo upon. They began taking leases from proprietors but this could not help them much and they therefore introduced what they call the *Tokathia* system. They compelled all the ryots to grow indigo upon three cottas per bigha of their lands. This worked very hard on the ryots and ultimately after a long time it led to serious disturbance and troubles and in 1908 there were several riots resulting in bloodshed so much so that hundreds of people were prosecuted. The situation became very grave and the Government ordered an enquiry into the question and for that purpose appointed Mr Gourlay who made a thorough enquiry after inspecting the places. You will be surprised to hear that in spite of efforts made in the Local Council and also in the Imperial Council the report of the Special Officer appointed by the Government has not yet seen the light of day and people do not know the reason for not bringing the report before the public. After that relations did not improve and in 1912, 1913 and 1914 several representations were made to the Local Government by these poor ryots against the tyrannies of the European planter but the result was that instead of any benefit arising from such representations a number of villagers within the *Elaka* of one concern were prosecuted under the defamation section of the Penal Code for having petitioned the Commissioner regarding their grievances. Some were even convicted by the Magistrate

though ultimately the convictions were set aside After the introduction of German synthetic indigo planters lost their business and therefore they had recourse to a different practice altogether to anyhow make up their loss They got the ryots to register documents in their favour agreeing to pay enhanced rent in lieu of what they call the release of the ryot from the obligation to grow indigo for them You will be surprised to hear that at the instance of these indigo planters about 40,000 documents were registered in a few months Some of the ryots who can afford are contesting the legality of these documents The ryots represented all these and their other grievances which will take time to enumerate here to the Local Government but nothing has come out of the representations We have therefore thought it proper to bring this matter before this National Assembly because our province has not been able to get any remedy so far I beg of you that you will unanimously accept the resolution which will be of great help to the people of Bihar (Cheers)

Babu Sri Krishna Singh (Bihar) seconded the resolution in Hindi

Pandit Raj Kumar Shukla (Bihar) supported the resolution also speaking in

Hindi

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously

At this stage the Congress rose for the day adjourning the sitting to 11.30 A.M. on the 29th December

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Ryots in
Bihar

Babu Braj
Kishore
Prasad

Babu Sri
Krishna
Singh

Pandit Raj
Kumar
Shukla

The 31st Indian National Congress.

Third Day's Proceedings

Friday, the 29th December, 1916

The Congress re-assembled today at 11.45 A.M. the attendance being as numerous and as enthusiastic as on the previous days. The advent of the President, accompanied by leading Congressmen and escorted by the volunteers, was hailed with acclamation and after all had taken their seats the song of Vande Mataram was sung by some of the Bengali ladies as on the previous days. This was followed by a well known Urdu poem recited by a Muslim youth this being the first occasion of the exhibition on a Congress platform of friendly co-operation of the members of the Muslim League and their new but growing interest in the National movement and another by the well known Urdu poet Pandit Brij Narain Chakbast. The songs were well received and repeatedly cheered where there was reference to the country the motherland of Hindus and Muslims alike.

XII—Self-Government for India

Resolution
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ment for
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The President — I now begin the work of the Congress. I place before you the resolution of the 31st Indian National Congress. It embodies the united demand of Hindus and Mussalmans (Cheers). I call upon Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee to move the resolution.

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee came on the platform to the accompaniment of a thundering ovation and cries of Vande Mataram which lasted for several minutes.

Babu S. N.
Banerjee

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee in moving the resolution on Self Government said —

Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen I have the honour to move what has been described by your President as the resolution of the Congress (Hear, hear). It is a great honour done to me for ever since the birth of the Congress—and I may add even before its birth for my public life dates earlier than even the birth of the Congress—I have been a champion of self government (hear hear and applause) and if I can in any way in the evening of my life contribute to the accomplishment of this great end I shall descend to the grave with the consciousness that I have not lived in vain. I shall now ask Mr J. Chaudhary to read the resolution. (Mr Chaudhary then read the resolution.)

(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilizations and have shown great capacity for Government and administration and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self government on India at an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards self government by granting the reform contained in the scheme prepared by the All India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All India Muslim League.

- (c) That in the reconstruction of the Empire India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self governing Dominions

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Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen you have heard the resolution The resolution divides itself into two parts as most resolutions do There is the preamble—rather a long preamble in this case—and there is what may be called the operative part of the resolution The preamble sets forth the grounds for the demand I need not repeat those grounds We demand that immediately a Royal Proclamation should be issued announcing that it is the aim and purpose of British policy to establish self government in India and that after the termination of the war when the reconstruction the refashioning of the Empire takes place India be uplifted to a position of equal partnership in the imperial system First there is to be a proclamation then the proclamation is to be followed by our being raised to a position of equal partnership in the empire But in the meantime something has to be done We urge that meanwhile a definite step should be taken towards the grant of self government and that step is to give effect to the scheme formulated by the joint Conference of the All India Congress Committee and the Muslim League That represents in short the sum and substance of this resolution

Ladies and Gentleman since we met last at Bombay we have made some progress—I will not say considerable progress but an appreciable measure of progress in the efforts which we hope in their fruition will culminate in the establishment of self government in India The Bombay Congress dissolved with a mandate to formulate in concert with the Moslem League a scheme of self government call it Home Rule if you like (Applause.) I have not the slightest objection to the phrase the only point is that in the scramble for the name you must not overlook the thing itself A joint Conference was held and we agreed to a scheme which represents the demand of United India on the subject (Hear hear) Ladies and gentlemen I had the honour over the deliberations of that Conference and I will say this on behalf of the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League that throughout they exhibited a spirit of compromise of sweet reasonableness which to my mind constitutes the most valuable qualification for self government After all what is parliamentary Government but government by discussion of which compromise is the essence and the spirit of compromise was conspicuous in our deliberations The scheme is before you and it is a crowning testimony to the growing unity of feeling between Hindu and Mussalmans (Hear hear)

Mark what took place in 1899 when the Congress met here and what is the state of things today (Hear hear) When the Congress met here in 1899—I was one of the delegates present—the Mahomedan community were opposed to us—with the exception of a few here and there Today the leaders of the Mahomedan community have joined the Congress (Hear hear and applause) Three cheers for them (Three cheers were given to the Mahomedans) They have received us with open arms and none with greater earnestness and cordiality than my respected and honoured friend the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad whose independence patriotism and keen solicitude for a good understanding between the Hindus and Mahomedans have won for him and in an unstinted measure the esteem the confidence and the regard of all sections of the Indian community (Hear hear) Brother delegates the one weapon in the armoury of the enemies of Indian advancement which they have used in season and out of season and with such tactfulness and skill is the alleged cleavage between the Hindus and Mahomedans which they themselves have been so sedulous in creating and fostering I have often spoken to these reactionary gentlemen and one is present to my mind at this moment I visited him in London and in his office but he shall be nameless for the present I spoke to him about our demands He is the editor of a great newspaper—I am afraid I am little by little taking you into the secrets of my prison house—and what he said to me was what will the Mussalmans say? That has been the uniform

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reply of these reactionaries to the demands of the Indian National Congress. Whether it was the modification of the partition of Bengal or the appointment of an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Council or the expansion of the system of election these reactionaries who have opposed our demands have always posed as the champions of Mahomedan interests. (Cries of 'shame!')

Now, this weapon is ruthlessly taken away from their hands and they must turn to other quarters for the help which they sorely need in battling against India's freedom. They look with wistful eyes to the masses of our people, the great body of our illiterate countrymen and they pose as their champions and their spokesmen. In their opinion—normally expressed in times when there is no excitement and no controversy—in their opinion the masses are dumb, inarticulate and unconcerned with all things except their own interests, never caring to peep out of the circle of their village life in which they live and move and have their being. But when it comes to be a question of self-government for India, the government of our country by our own people, then all of a sudden, by a strange magical transformation, the masses, in the opinion of these people, become vocal and even clamant, and they are made to exhibit a concern, even anxiety, at the prospect of a change which would transfer authority from a foreign bureaucracy to their own countrymen—the bone of their bone and the flesh of their flesh. Gentlemen, will you be surprised to hear that this view is not only expressed by the Anglo-Indian Press, the extremists in the Anglo-Indian Press, but it has been seriously put forward by Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor designate of Bengal (Cries of 'shame!') to whom the Secretary of State has given a certificate of character (Laughter) in reply, we presume, to the universal condemnation of the appointment by the people of Bengal—a certificate based upon his views and his services which, from the Indian stand-point constitute a distinct disqualification for the high and exalted office to which he has been appointed. Let that, however, pass. You and I are not the representatives of the masses, but foreign officials who imperfectly speak their language and live in a position of detachment and isolation from them! To substitute, or to seek to substitute, foreign officials in place of the natural leaders of the community who are the heaven-appointed guardians and protectors of their interests is to reverse the order of nature—to set at naught the decree of Divine Providence written in every line of the open book of universal history. Gentlemen, the point is so clear that one has only to state it in order that its absurdity may be seen. We are not the natural guardians of the masses! And the Bureaucracy is afraid that if self government is conceded the effect of it would be that their interests would not be looked after. Now, let me ask—Who are the people who have advocated primary education in season and out of season, have pressed the claims of sanitation, have again and again urged the abolition of the salt tax, the reform of the police, the separation of judicial and executive functions, all intended to benefit the masses? The responsibility of pursuing a persistent policy of obstruction in regard to these matters must rest upon the shoulders of the bureaucracy who aspire to be the guardians of the interests of the masses. This, then, is one of the arguments brought forward, namely, that if self-government is conceded, the interests of the masses will not be looked after. I have demonstrated that we are the natural leaders of the masses, the protectors of their interests, and those interests will be safe, far more safe in our hands than in those of foreign Bureaucracy.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are on the eve of a great reconstruction. The world after the war will not be the same as it was before the war. England and India will participate in that reconstruction. The object of the war is to vindicate the sanctity of treaty obligations, to protect the rights of minor nationalities, to uphold the sacredness of scraps and bits of paper. In the same spirit, I submit, we are entitled to hold that the gracious messages contained in our charters and proclamations should be redeemed and upheld, for the moral law does not work by latitudes and longitudes. It is of universal application. The latest declaration on the subject of readjustment that we have had is the one made by Lord Chelmsford to an American correspondent. His Excellency observed that the war has stimulated the aspirations of India politically as well as industrially, that it would be his duty to give them a practical form and recognition—

now mark the words—to guard them—I am quoting almost the exact language—to guard them against the cramping influences of undue conservatism and also against revolutionary tendencies. A noble message nobly delivered. If His Excellency can carry out this message he will go down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of the Indian people. But brother delegates I desire to raise a note of warning. There has been of late a tendency to err on the side of caution. A high authority supposed to be a power behind the throne speaking in Simla at a public meeting at which the question of post-war reforms was discussed said that if Akbar had been more cautious and less imaginative possibly the Moghul Empire in India would have endured till today. Prophecy in regard to matters that might have been but were not is a perfectly safe occupation. Might I not be permitted to indulge in the same pastime and say that if Akbar had not followed this bold and courageous policy the Moghul Empire would not have taken root in the hearts of the people? I am supported by the authority of the historian of Akbar and by an overwhelming array of facts. Mark what happened before the establishment of the Moghul power in India. Dynasty after dynasty followed one another in rapid succession. There were five dynasties within the space of 300 years giving an average life of 60 years to each. Akbar grasped the situation and saw the weakness of it all and initiated a bold and statesmanlike policy which enshrined him in the hearts of the people and laid broad and deep the foundations of the Moghul Empire. And I am sure that if Akbar had followed any other policy which failed to attract the hearts of the people the fate which had overtaken the previous dynasties would have been his.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Lord Chelmsford has observed that it would be his duty to guard the country against revolutionary tendencies. I think His Excellency may rely with absolute confidence upon the unstinted support of the educated community in this matter. We are not revolutionaries. (Cries of 'No no') Revolution is repugnant to our instincts and to our nature. We are the friends of reform. (Hear hear) of reform because it is the surest safeguard against revolution. All history proclaims the truth that reforms indefinitely postponed or tardily carried out or inadequate in their scope and comprehension prepare the ground for revolutionary propaganda. God grant that this blunder may not be committed in India. We know it was committed in Ireland. We are anxious that the same mistake may not be repeated here. (Hear hear) Lord Chelmsford said to the deputation of the Indian Association—I was a member of that deputation—that reforms would not be rapid. Well whether they be rapid or slow let there be no reforms by dribblets with a background of mistrust and suspicion. Whatever reform is conceded let it be wholehearted, let it be the index of a generous trust reposed in the people and above all let it be adequate to the growing aspirations of India. Any reform that fails to satisfy this test must give rise to disappointment create discontent frustrate the object of all reform which is to keep pace with an advancing public opinion. I hope and trust that it may be Lord Chelmsford's high privilege to grant us reforms which will satisfy the growing aspirations of the people and be consonant with the scheme which has been formulated and which is now before you.

Brother delegates there is a widespread feeling all over the Empire that after the war self-government should be conceded to India or that at any rate a definite step should be taken towards it. The difference of opinion between Indian Nationalists and our critics is this. We say we should have self-government at once or in the immediate future. They say we must pass through purgatory on our way heavenwards. Mr. Lionel Curtis (Cries of 'shame')—never mind—he is a man who has written several books on the subject. He exercises considerable influence over English public opinion. He may or may not be an opponent of Indian aspirations but let me try to meet him on his own ground. It is best not to despise an opponent nor to dismiss him with the cry of shame but to meet him on his own ground and with his own weapons and show the unsoundness of the position which he has taken up. In his book "The Problem of Commonwealth" he says "The task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual

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end for which the Commonwealth exists and material order is nothing except as a means to it. The preparation of the races living within the British Empire for self government is according to Mr Lionel Curtis a spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists and it is the sole justification for British rule in this country. Material order is a means to that end. All administrative measures are subordinated to this spiritual end which overshadows every other aim and purpose. So far so good. We are all in agreement with Mr Lionel Curtis. But when he comes to the question of self government for India he cries out. Not yet. That is an old cry. He says. You cannot have self government now. Why not? Because you have not got suitable electorates. To that my reply is. Had you any electorates in the United Kingdom worth the name before the Reform Bill of 1832? (Hear hear.) Is it not notorious that there were those pocket boroughs which were openly bought and sold? And yet no one questioned the competency of the English for self government. Had Japan electorates suitable or otherwise when the Mikado conferred parliamentary institutions upon that country? Had the Philippines any electorates qualified or otherwise when the American Republic resolved to concede national independence to the people of the Philippines? The growth and development of electorates is part of the growth and development of free institutions. They are inseparable and linked together. They act and react upon each other and strengthen each other by their mutual interaction.

It is said that we are not fit for self government. We are forsooth unfit for self rule! In the morning of the world when Europe was sunk in barbarism our ancestors had those village communities which represent the first beginnings of self government and which survived the vicissitudes of time and fortune! We are not fit for self government! Go back to the days of the Vedic Rishis. What do you find? The king was an elected monarch—so says Dr Pramatha Nath Banerjee in his book. And even in the Middle Ages the memory of an elected sovereign lingered in the institutions of the land. Analyse the institutions of Islam. What do you find? Islamic society and government are saturated with the spirit of democracy and the Caliph the spiritual head of the Moslem world originally owed his authority his position and dignity to the choice of the Faithful. There is no community in the world in which the spirit of equality is more visible and more active than that professing the creed of Islam. And yet we are told we Hindus and Mussalmans are not fit for self government. When shall we be so fit? may I ask? When the Bureaucracy will think that we are? (Laughter.) And when will that be? Doomsday! (Renewed laughter.) There is yet another authority which may give us self government. What is that? The Parliament of England. But it takes a long time to move Parliament. Sir Henry Fowler said on one occasion that every member of the House of Commons was a member for India. What is everybody's business is nobody's business. We have found that from our painful personal experience. No body cares for India. England and Englishmen are so deeply concerned in their own affairs absorbed in their own administration and government that they find it impossible to pay any attention to India. Who then will determine the time when self government is to be conceded to us? You and I (Hear hear and applause.) For nations by themselves are made (Hear hear.) Enlist on your behalf all the sympathy you can of English men and English women and of the civilized world but bear in mind you that you alone are the final arbiters of the destinies of the Motherland. (Applause.) Cromwell on one occasion made a memorable remark of which I am reminded at the present moment. On the eve of the battle of Nesby when a severe thunder storm passed over the encampment addressing his troops he said — Keep your powder dry and pray. Pray by all means, but keep your powder dry. Don't lose sight of the material resources which are necessary for success in this world. Spiritual agencies are a mighty factor but the material resources are not to be despised. The salvation of India is to be wrought upon Indian soil by Indian hands by Indian brains and by Indian agency. (Applause.) Have by all means the sympathies of Englishmen and of the civilized world but it is you who will determine the great final question for yourselves. Ladies and Gentlemen. I don't know whether I have already exhausted your patience. (Cries of No no.) I have a few more remarks to make. Why is it that we want

self-government? We want self government in the interests of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong. We want self government in the interests of the efficiency of the administration. We want self government for self protection. And finally, we want self government for the highest ends of national existence for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. I say we want self government in the interests of the Empire. Who knows what will happen 20 years hence? Who knows what strife what struggle what difficulties there may be hidden in the womb of the future? Who knows that another war more sanguinary and more devastating than the one which is now desolating Europe may not again break out with all its attendant horrors and cast its shadow upon the fortunes of humanity? Is it not the duty of statesmanship to be forewarned and to be forearmed to take the necessary measures of precaution against a contingency of this kind? Who had ever dreamt forty years back after the battle of Sedan that England and Germany would stand and fight with one another? You talk of the man power of Germany. But look nearer home. We are as multitudinous as the stars of heaven as countless as the sands of the sea. I say to the rulers of India. Rely upon us trust us and Germany will quail before the man power you hold in reserve in India. (Hear hear.) Marshman says in his history of British India the grandsons of those who fought against Baber became under Akbar the governors of his provinces the captains of his armies and the ministers of his councils. Let such trust be reposed in us and England may gaze with serenity the mightiest combination that may be formed against her Imperial sway. Self Government is the cement of the Empire. It has knit together the self governing colonies in the bonds of an indissoluble union. It has converted hostile Boers into loyal citizens shedding their blood in suppressing a rebellion of their own countrymen against the Empire which has conferred on them the inestimable gift of freedom. If self government is conceded to us the same results will follow in this ancient land.

We want self government for the efficiency of the administration. Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen I want to look at a concrete fact and judge our rulers by the test of that fact. We have anarchism in Bengal. What is it due to? I have no hesitation in saying and saying it from this platform saying it publicly with all the weight of responsibility upon my shoulders—that anarchism in Bengal is the product of past misrule. (Hear hear.) It has its roots in economic and political conditions. We referred to this cause in the address that we presented to his Excellency the Viceroy. We are asked to co operate but his Excellency left untouched in his reply the root causes of anarchy. How have the bureaucracy grappled with this terrible distemper? Repression is their only remedy. One coercive measure after another has followed in rapid succession—the Seditious Meetings Act the Press Act the Defence of India Act—and God knows what other Acts may be in store for us. And what has been the result? Anarchy frowns upon the land and casts a darkening shadow over the horizon. Anarchy remains unchecked and unabashed. The bureaucracy has failed to grapple with it and bureaucracy was responsible for producing it. In the words of Edmund Burke conciliation and not repression is the sovereign cure for all public distempers. Grant us self government and I will guarantee that in six years time anarchy will disappear. I promise to redeem this pledge—I give a personal guarantee. If in six years time I am not able to redeem my word transport me to the Andamans (Laughter) unless in the meantime I am translated to that land where there are no congresses no conferences where subjects committees do not prolong their deliberations till 9 o'clock in the evening—that land from whose bourne no traveller ever returns. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman has told us that good government is no substitute for self government. I will go a step further and add that in fairly progressive communities self government is the only guarantee for good government. Take the case of Japan or that of Turkey or China. The chaos confusion and anarchy which prevailed in those countries were dispelled by the healing breath of self government. I make an exception as regards Persia. But Persia also would have been changed and her political framework would have been as solidly established as that of the others but for the intervention of European powers. Good government is no substitute for self government.

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but self government is necessary for good government and we claim it for the purpose of good government. If we had self government what do you think we should do? The first thing would be to pass a law in favour of free and compulsory education. The next thing would be to separate judicial and executive functions. The third would be to improve the police. And how? By importing into the higher branches of the service a strong Indian element capable of looking after the inferior grades. We would abolish the duty on salt. We would have an Arms Act upon the lines of the British Statute. And finally we would have a national militia. We have been pressing these things for years together but all in vain. Mr Chatterjee said yesterday that if volunteering were granted it would go far to check the growth of anarchy in Bengal. Mr Chatterjee who has defended a number of anarchists speaks with a knowledge which I do not possess. He has again and again dinned this into the ears of the Government but so far without effect.

We want self government for the purpose of self protection. You might ask—what do you mean by self protection? At the present moment there is visible on the horizon a cloud no bigger than a man's hand which I am afraid unless timely precautions are taken is destined to assume formidable proportions and bursting upon us, may overwhelm us. What is that cloud? It is the prospect of a federal council of the Empire from which we are to be excluded and on which there will be colonial representatives. The self governing colonies are soaked in colour prejudice. From the Federal Council of the Empire they will determine the policy and the principles of Indian administration. We must put our own house in order and have self rule before this dire catastrophe overwhelms us.

We want self government finally for the highest ends of national existence for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. Political inferiority involves moral degradation. It is galling to our self respect. The mind and the conscience of a free man are not the mind and conscience of a slave. A nation of slaves could never have produced a Patanjali, a Budha or a Valmiki. We want self government in order that we might wipe off from our brows the badge of political inferiority and uplift our heads among the nations of the earth so that we may fulfil the great destinies that are in store for us under the blessing of Divine Providence. We want self government not only in our own interests but for the sake of humanity at large. In the morning of the world, on the banks of the Ganges and on the banks of the Jumna the Vedic Rishis sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the Divine Ideal. In the morning of the world before the Eternal City had been built on the seven hills we were the spiritual preceptors of mankind. Kashi was flourishing before Babylon. Our past takes us back to the dim twilight of history. In those days when the world was sunk in primeval barbarism we were the guides and instructors of mankind. Has our mission been fulfilled? It has been arrested and will have to be renewed, renewed and fulfilled so that we may rescue humanity from the gross materialism and the perverse moral culture which has heaped the battle fields of Europe with the hecatombs of the dead. But we must be fully equipped before we can adequately discharge this high and exalted function. Self government is the indispensable equipment. These are the ideals, the hopes and the aspirations which inspire us in the demand for self government. Our work is not political, it is moral, it is religious. We are therefore irresistible and invincible.

Today is a red letter day in our history. Today Hindus and Mahomedans and all ranks of the National party are united on this platform inspired by a common resolve and a common purpose. May the memory of this day be embalmed in the recollections of posterity by the inauguration of a new campaign for the attainment of self government. It is no use our holding a session for three days and then going to sleep for the rest of the year. We must resolve in our hearts and take a vow such as we did in connection with the Swadeshi movement and enter into a solemn league and covenant before God and man that we shall not rest from these labours until we have secured for ourselves the great and inestimable blessing of self government. (Hear hear and applause.) Our

cause is the noblest that ever warmed the heart of man founded upon the highest considerations of justice. We are within measurable distance of victory. The promised land is in sight. From the Sinai of hope and faith we behold its splendour. But whether we shall enter it or whether our entrance shall be delayed or indefinitely postponed will depend upon ourselves. Therefore equip yourselves for the great work that lies before you. Pursue the campaign with energy, devotion and selflessness, sinking all differences, all petty conflicts and controversies, uniting yourselves, and the God of nations will consecrate your effort with His blessings and lead you to the promised land which will be your heritage and the destined heritage of your children and your children's children' (Loud applause)

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The President — Gentlemen, a scheme has been formulated both by the Hindus and Mahomedans jointly. I think it necessary that this scheme should be known to all the delegates present. It has been considered by a Subjects Committee consisting of over 300 delegates but it is my earnest wish that it should be known to everyone of the delegates here present. It is the most important thing. The Magna Charta was presented to an unwilling King by a handful of illiterate barons. Here at Charbagh in Lucknow educated India presents its demand to an obstinate bureaucracy, and I wish that everyone of you should know the contents of this important document which you are going to present to our Sovereign and to the authorities. Let it be distinctly understood that there shall not be either voiced whisper of dissent or disapprobation. It is simply for your information that I am going to place it before you. It shall be read and you will hear it silently. I call upon Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru who you will be glad to learn is a chip of the old block, a son of our respected and lamented friend, Pandit Ajodhya Nath. I ask you calmly to listen to it. There will be discussion about it afterwards but not a word until he reads it.

The Pres-
ident

Mr Hridaya Nath Kunzru — "Gentlemen the following recommendations have been adopted after consultation with a representative committee of the All India Muslim League. The recommendations are as follows —

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REFORM SCHEME

1.—Provincial Legislative Councils

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four fifths elected and of one fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions —

Punjab—One half of the elected Indian Members

United Provinces—30 p c

Bengal—40 p c

Bihar—25 p c

Central Provinces—15 p c

Madras—15 p c

Bombay—One third

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no Bill nor any clause thereof nor a resolution introduced by a non official member affecting one or the other community which question is to be

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determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned shall be proceeded with if three fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council Imperial or provincial oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution

5 The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President

6 The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member

7 (a) Except customs post telegraph mint salt opium railways army and navy and tributes from Indian States all other sources of revenue should be provincial

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans to impose and alter taxation and to vote on the Budget All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor in Council provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year it must be given effect to

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one eighth of the members present

8 A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one eighth of the members

9 A Bill other than a Money Bill may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor

10 All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law but may be vetoed by the Governor General

11 The term of office of the members shall be five years

II—Provincial Governments

1 The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services

2 There shall be in every province an Executive Council which with the Governor shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province

3 Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils

4 Not less than one half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council

5 The term of office of the members shall be five years

III.—Imperial Legislative Council

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1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council be 150

2 Four fifths of the members shall be elected

3 The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mahomedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to Imperial Legislative Council

4 One third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several provinces in the proportion as may be in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates

Vide provisoes to section I clause 4

5 The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself

6 The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member

7 A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one eighth of the members

8 A Bill other than a Money Bill may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor

9 All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor General before they become law

10 All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council

11 The term of office of members shall be five years

12 The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council —

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter provincial fiscal relations

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue excepting tributes from Indian States

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties of imposing altering or removing any tax or cess modifying the existing system of currency and banking and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole

13 A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor General in Council provided however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year it must be given effect to

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14 A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one eighth of the members present

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15 When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned

16 The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India including the declaration of war the making of peace and the entering into treaties

IV—The Government of India

1 The Governor General of India will be the head of the Government of India

2 He will have an Executive Council half of whom shall be Indians

3 The Indian members shall be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council

4 Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor General

5 The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme due regard being paid to existing interests subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council

6 The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the Local affairs of a province and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments

7 In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India as constituted under this scheme shall as far as possible be independent of the Secretary of State

8 A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted

V—The Secretary of State in Council

1 The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished

2 The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates

3 The Secretary of State should as far as possible occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the self Governing Dominions

4 The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under Secretaries one of whom should always be an Indian

VI—India and the Empire

1 In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights

2 Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire

VII—Military and other matters

COMMISSIONS IN THE ARMY

1 The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non commissioned ranks should be thrown open to Indians, and adequate provision should be made for their selection training and instruction in India

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2 Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

3 Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province

The President — I now call upon Mrs Besant to second the resolution

Mrs Besant who rose to second the resolution was received with loud ovation and shouts of Vande Mataram She said — Mrs Besant

Mr President and friends you have just heard the scheme of reforms which has been passed by the All India Congress Committee in conference with the Reform Committee appointed by the All India Muslim League Those reforms are alluded to in the second clause (b) of the resolution submitted to you and you will see that they are meant for a transition period to be passed as soon as possible and to lead up to that change which is to come with the reconstruction of the empire after the war—that change to the self government of India on a footing of equality with the self governing Dominions It is to that last clause that I propose to ask your attention The last clause says that in the reconstruction of the empire after the war, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self governing Dominions (Hear hear) With regard to that it is said that you ought not to embarrass the British Government by raising such a question as this in the middle of the war We are only following the example of the self governing Dominions We are only taking the advice of Mr Bonar Law, the late Colonial Secretary, who advised the Dominions to strike the iron while it was red hot That is the advice that, unasked I admit we take to ourselves (Laughter) The iron is red hot But after the reconstruction of the Empire the iron will be cold and where, I ask is the blacksmith who allows a red hot iron to cool down before he tries to strike it to the shape and form he wants? (Hear, hear) I want very briefly for my time is short to meet the objections that are made We see at this moment much talk about the five nations who are to form a federated Empire after the war The five nations are the United Kingdom Australia New Zealand South Africa and North America. Where is India? Oh, she is not one of the five She is a coloured people she is not colourless and colourless people have the right of domination over them as coloured people Coloured people have only the duty of submission (Cries of Shame) But that is not the doctrine that this coloured nation at least is willing to accept We are not uncivilized natives of Central Africa that we should bow our neck beneath the yoke of the five white nations Has God given liberty alone to the pale faces and not to the coloured people of the globe? It is not colour that counts, it is the clever brain and the strong heart that count and not the coloured skin that covers them The Lord Buddha the Lord Mahomed and the Lord Christ were coloured men All the founders of religions were coloured men Have the colourless produced a single founder of a religion among the five nations? We will never bow beneath the yoke of the colonies We are told not to spread bitterness against the Colonies I think the writer of that has begun at the wrong end Have we excluded the Colonials from India because they could not talk or write some language of which they could know nothing? Was it this country or was it Australia that passed that law? Have we said that no North American or Canadian could come to India unless he comes straight from port to port when there is no line of ships that carries a passenger straight from one to the other, or bas

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Canada made that law against the Indian people? Have we said that no colonist shall have his wife and children join him, or has British Columbia said so in relation to the Sikhs? Have we put a brand of inferiority on the colourless people, and said that their trades should be licensed, that they must pay three pounds a head and that their marriage is no marriage or has South Africa done it to our Indian brethren? What is this talk of bitterness? Bitterness is caused by the Colonies, and not by India. Let this advice be to the colonists and not to India. The Indians had no share in the making of that feeling, but resent the indignity to which they, the subjects of the King Emperor, are subjected. Oh, you are not fit to govern yourselves you are divided! Are we? (Cries of "No.") We have shown some power of union during the last few years. The Congress was split into half nine years ago. But we stand a united Congress today at Lucknow. Hindus and Muslims had a gulf between them—not in Kashmir, where a Hindu prince rules, not in the Deccan, where a Muslim prince is sovereign, but only in the British Raj, and that gulf has been bridged over by Muslims and Hindus themselves, and we have linked our hands in love in trust in mutual forbearance in mutual respect and we stand today a united nation, so that nothing shall hereafter break us asunder. Oh you are not fit for self government. You are ignorant. Who has the right to cast that reproach at the masses of our people? It was Gopal Krishna Gokhale who tried to win free and compulsory education, cautiously, carefully, step by step for he was not an impatient idealist in word, however much his heart went with impatient idealism, an Indian tried to educate his brethren. But who was it that denied it? It was the Imperial Council with its perpetual majority of Officials. Does it, then, lie in the mouth of Englishmen to reproach us with ignorance, when the Government would not educate our people and would not help us to do it. (Cries of 'Shame.') Then they say 'You cannot defend yourselves. Did we pass the Arms Act? Did we take away weapons from the hands of our people? Or has there been since 1878 a law that no pure blooded Indian, whether Hindu or Mussalman could possess arms without a licence to the gaining of which all sorts of difficulties are attached? Is it India's fault that it is undefended? For thirty years the Congress has asked for the repeal of the Arms Act and for permission to volunteer and to open military colleges and those who have treated every demand with contempt say that we are not fit to govern ourselves because we cannot defend ourselves.'

It is only Home Rule that will enable us to defend ourselves. Until we have Home Rule we cannot be armed as we should be. 'Oh, it is said there are divisions among you. There are none in England.' (Laughter.) Before the great war in 1914, which saved the Empire, the United Kingdom was on the brink of a civil war. Was England then unfit for self government? How far was England educated when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed? How far was she educated even when the Bill of 1867 was passed or did Robert Lowe say, 'We must educate our masters? Has England always been so quiet under difficulties?' In 1913 there were no strikes paralysing railway traffic and threatening London with starvation because of lack of transport, as all the men engaged in transport work were on strike. Yet England is fit for self government and you, quiet and industrious, are not. I remember—I cannot say I remember—I have read that before the Bill of 1832 there were riots in Bristol, Warwick Castle was burnt down, there was a massacre at Peterloo, the whole country was disturbed. But was that a reason for not giving a share of self government? No. It was a reason for widening the franchise to get rid of the difficulties that existed and I ask you to remember that, after the Bill of 1867, which gave household suffrage to England, only since then has England passed free and compulsory education for a nation wants to educate itself, and government without the nation will never do it. It prefers it should remain ignorant. As regards the objection that educated Indians are in a minority, the educated of every country are in a minority, but they are not so small a minority as the God-given rulers of today. (Laughter.) The educated minority know the people, and the English do not. People come here to learn about the Indian nation. They live in Government camps, and they go about with Government officers, they

make friends of those who have slandered India (Cries of Shame) Is that the way to learn what Indians think? Oh but they go on cold weather tour with the Collector and see something of village life! What will they see? They will see the people who come to the Collector and who say Jo Hookum They see the people who say 'English *ma bap* The villagers are not such fools though you think they are as to show their real minds before their white masters (Laughter) They are miserably poor but those who are not so poor will pretend to be for fear the next enhancement of taxation will take away the little they have saved (Laughter) They only wear one cloth So does the Brahmana when he is at home A coat and trousers are not the sign of civilization They are not the sign of ability Our village people are not as ignorant as these stray visitors imagine If you could talk to them in their own language you will find they know more of the great laws of human existence more of the teaching about divine nature more about the realities of human life in this world and in the other two worlds on the other side of death than the peasants know in England (Hear hear) Oh they say they are low in the scale of civilization What of the English? If I took you to the East End of London which I know very well if I took you at the hour when they shut the gin palaces and turn out into the streets of the city the drunken blasphemous quarrelling crowd would you think those people were fit to govern themselves? I ask you Where would you find any crowd in the Indian nation to match that debauched crowd? Your Indian women can go alone in any Indian crowd I have gone through the other but I assure you I had to dress so that I looked very poor in order that no body might think it worth while to knock me down and take something from me But if we describe these things we are told that we are injuring the prestige of the British nation and the Press Act is brought down to silence criticism Have you forgotten that one of the Punjabee papers that described the condition of London in Piccadilly and Regent Street at night was held to have excited hatred and contempt against His Majesty British subjects here and the security of the paper was forfeited? (Cries of Shame shame) I am afraid His Honour Sir James Meston may think my language emphatic I am afraid to say so but we want emphasis in order to make both our rulers and people understand the intolerable condition of things under which India is living today India has still love for England India does not want to break the British connection but the England she loves is not the steel framed England of the Press Act the Defence of India Act the Seditious Meetings Act the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the definition of sedition in the Penal Code and all those horrible Regulations of 1818 1819 and 1827 It is not the England of those things that we love It is the England of Cromwell of Hampden and Pym of Milton and Shelley it is the England that sheltered the threatened life of Mazzini the England that welcomed Garibaldi by thousands in her streets as the liberator of Italy the England that has been sheltering every political refugee that protected Kropotkin that protected Stepniak the man of the Red Terror when a prize was set on his head by the Tsar of Russia He lived on English soil and England would not give up the political refugee to the hands of his Russian enemies It is that England that we love That is the England that despite everything else we still believe in but she is ignorant and blinded by people who come here and write on superficial knowledge and confirm her in her blunders instead of enlightening her

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Mrs Besant.

England is fighting for her life and has called India to help her with as much as India is able to give Oh India would have given so much more so many more men so many more volunteers in order to help England in the day of her need but England at her peril calls on Indian soldiers to fight for the liberty of Belgium and the sacredness of treaties and then sends those soldiers back here to find their people still in bondage and treaties disregarded torn in pieces and thrown aside That which England fights for in Europe she must admit here The liberty that there she is the champion of she must be ready to give here But you are not fit I Oh my friends there is only one thing which makes a nation fit for freedom and that is the heart to

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aspire after it and the will which is determined to have it England will not give you freedom—no nation has ever been given freedom, but England will pass an Act of Parliament establishing your freedom, when she realises that you are in earnest, that you are tired of being played with, that you are determined to be free India's loyalty rests on her belief in the old England, and not in the English bureaucracy, and her loyalty is the reasoned loyalty of freeman, she asks for her place in the Empire and until that is granted, there will be danger in the path of progress (Loud and prolonged applause)

Mr B G
Tilak

Mr B G Tilak, of Poona, who rose to support the resolution, was accorded a rousing welcome amidst loud and prolonged applause He said —

"Mr President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen I thank you sincerely for the reception that you have given me on this platform, but let me tell you that I am not foolish enough to think that this reception is given to me personally It is given, if I rightly understand, for those principles for which we have been fighting The resolution which I wish to support embodies all these principles It is the resolution of Self Government It is that for which we have been fighting for which the Congress has been fighting for the last thirty years The first note of it was heard ten years ago on the banks of the Hoogly, and it was sounded by the Grand Old Man of India, that Parsee patriot of Bombay, Dadabhai Naoroji Since the note was sounded differences of opinion arose Some said that the note ought to be carried on and ought to be followed by a detailed scheme at once, that it should be taken up and made to resound all over India as soon as possible There was another party amongst us that said that it could not be done so soon and the tune of that note required to be a little lowered, and that was the cause of dissension ten years ago and I am glad to say that I have lived these ten years to see that we are reunited in this Congress and we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on this scheme of Self Government, and not only have we lived to see these differences closed, but to see the differences of Hindus and Mahomedans closed as well So we have now united in every way in the United Provinces, and we have found that luck in Lucknow (Laughter) So I consider it the most auspicious session of this thirty first Indian National Congress

There are only one or two points on which I wish to address you It has been said, Gentlemen, by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mahomedan brethren I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India, when I say that we could not have yielded too much I would not care if the rights of Self Government are granted to the Mahomedan community only (Hear, hear) I would not care if they are granted to Rajputs, I would not care if they are granted to the lowest classes of the Hindu population, provided the British Government consider them more fit than the educated classes of India for exercising those rights, I would not care if these rights are granted to any section of the Indian community Then the fight will be between them and other sections of the community and not as at present a triangular fight We have to gain these rights, remember, from a powerful bureaucracy, an unwilling bureaucracy, naturally unwilling because the bureaucracy now feels that these rights, these privileges, this authority will pass out of their hands I would feel the same if I were in that position, and I am not going to blame the bureaucracy for entertaining that natural feeling, but natural as that feeling may be, it is a feeling which we have to combat against It is a feeling that is not conducive to the growth of Self Government in this country We have to fight against that feeling, and when you have to fight against a third party, it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion and united as regards all shades of different political opinion. That is the most important event of the day

Let us glance, as I said, ten years ago When Mr Dadabhai Naoroji declared that *Swaraj* should be our goal its name was *Swaraj* Later on it came to be known as Self Government and constitutional reform, and we Nationalists style it Home Rule.

It is all the same one in three different names. There is the objection raised that *Swaraj* has a bad odour in India and Home Rule has a bad odour in England, and hence we ought to call it constitutional reform. I do not care to call it by any name. I do not care for the name. If you style it as A B C Reform Scheme or X Y Z Reform Scheme, I shall be equally content. But I believe you have hardly realized the importance and the character of that scheme of reform. Let me tell you that it is far more liberal than the Irish Home Rule Bill when we contemplate what possibilities it carries with it. It may not be complete Home Rule, but it is more than a beginning of it. It may not be complete self government but it is far better than local self government. (Laughter.) It may not be *Swaraj* in the wider sense of the word, but it is far better than *Swadeshi* and boycott. It is in fact a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last thirty years, a synthesis that will help all to proceed to work in a definite and responsible manner. We cannot now afford to spend our energies on all the resolutions on the Public Services the Arms Act and sundry others. All is comprehended and included in this one resolution. I would ask every one of you to try to carry out this one resolution with all your effort, might and enthusiasm, everything that you can command, your intelligence, money, enthusiasm, all must now be devoted for carrying out this scheme of reforms. Do not think it is an easy task, nothing can be gained by passing resolutions on this platform by the simple union of the two races, Hindus and Mahomedans and the two parties, Moderates and Nationalists. The Union is intended to create a certain power and energy among us and unless that power and energy are exercised to the utmost you cannot hope to succeed so great are the obstacles in your way. You must now prepare to fight out the scheme. In short I do not care if the sessions of the Congress are held no longer. I believe it has done its work as a deliberative body. The next part is the executive and that will be placed before you afterwards. Remember what has to be done. It is not the time for speaking. When *Swaraj* was declared to be our goal it was a question whether it was a legal goal. The Calcutta High Court held it was a legal goal a year afterwards. But then there arose another question *viz.* in what way we should carry on our propaganda so as not to cast any slur on the bureaucracy which was the master at the time. That point has now been decided judicially that you can make any criticism in order to further your objects and justify your demands and that it comes within the bounds of law. So the goal of *Swaraj* and the way preaching it have both been declared legal and here you have a specific scheme of *Swaraj* passed by the united committees of Hindus and Mahomedans. All the thorns in your way have been removed. It will be your own fault if you do not succeed in attaining what is now described in this scheme. That is a very serious responsibility. Do not shirk it but work for it. The days of wonders are gone. You cannot feed now 100,000 people on a few crumbs of bread as you did in Jesus's day. The attaining of the object cannot be achieved by wonders of heaven. You have to do it. These are days of work and incessant labour and I hope that by the help of Providence you will find that energy and those resources which are required for carrying out that scheme within the next two years to come and if not by the end of 1917, when I expect that the war will be closed and then I hope we shall meet at some place in India where we shall be able to raise up the banner of self rule." (Great Applause.)

The hon. Mr. Muzkurul Haque, (Bihar), who rose amid scenes of wild enthusiasm, said: "Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. All my political life I have been of opinion that our motherland cannot advance without the unity of the Hindus, Mussalmans and other races. Having been of this opinion I have worked for the attainment of that unity and that unity has been achieved this year in this town of Lucknow. I consider it my duty here to mention the name of one who has been the chief instrument in attaining that unity. I mention the name of my revered friend the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad. (Three cheers were here lustily given for the Raja Sahab.) I assure you countrymen that the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad is an asset to India and I hope there would be many more like him in my country. Brethren, I am of opinion that the time for speculating and talking has long gone by.

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Mr. L. G.
Tilak

The
hon. Mr.
Maharaj
Haque

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India

The hon
Mr Maz-
harul Haque

The time for action has come. (Applause) Remember you are demanding Self-Government and Home Rule for India. Do you for a moment believe that you will get it by asking (Cries of "No no") Unless and until as Mrs. Besant has told you you make your rulers believe that you are in earnest and that you are serious in your demands you will never get anything I am sure of it. So my advice to my countrymen is this. Try to work now. I believe that there is going to be a meeting of the Subjects Committee today and a resolution is going to be placed before you for a machinery which you could work up for the attainment of Self Government. We must have a propaganda throughout the country and let our rulers see for themselves that every man, every woman and every child of India is determined to have Self Government" (Applause)

Sr Dinshah
Peti

Sir Dinshah Petit (Bombay) in further support of the resolution said — Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen Though I do not appear in the printed list on the programme among the speakers on this resolution still I am standing here addressing you at the bidding of the leaders of Congress and I have mustered courage to address this representative assembly, although I am not used to public speaking. I have taken upon myself to answer the command of our leaders to address you lest my refusal should be construed into some sort of apathy on the part of the community to which I belong towards the just, the righteous, aspirations of the people of this country. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to what could be the views of the community which has produced a Dadabhai Naoroji (Cheers) and a Heroz Shah Mehta (Cheers). It is said by those who do not like the advancement of the people of this country towards the attainment of Home Rule that the Parsees under the British Government have been enjoying so many big offices and high posts that they do not know what they would gain by casting in their lot with the Hindus and the Mahomedans in making this demand. Do not for a moment think that the Parsees when they are under the government of Home Rule by Mahomedans and the Hindus (Cries of "Parsees") and the Parsees themselves thank you for reminding me will in any way suffer in that direction, but admitting for arguments sake for a moment that they did (Cries of "No no") would it be right and sensible to expect that for the benefit of a few thousand Parsees 320,000,000 of people should be denied their birth right and their privilege? It is always said that the Parsees are the most loyal community in India. They are second to none in their loyalty to the Crown and therefore it is because they are loyal they support this movement because everybody must feel everybody who has the slightest knowledge of the history of the world ought to know that there is nothing which would contribute more towards the permanency of the British connection in India than Home Rule under British guidance. Before I resume my seat I shall throw out one suggestion towards a speedier attainment of the objects of this Congress and it is this—I speak with some personal experience of public life in the presidency from which I come—that the people who do the greatest harm to our legitimate aspirations are not the people who rule us but they are unfortunately—I must confess—some of our own people. I know there are people who go to Government House to carry tales. I know there are people in the Legislative Council and in the Municipal Corporation who barter away their rights and privileges of their country and city to get a Khan Bahadur or a "C. I. E." (Cries of "Shame") It is my advice that we must ostracise such people. If we do not admit them into our clubs let us see if they will be admitted by their English friends in their clubs. Now, on behalf of my community, I congratulate you on the union which you, Hindus and Mahomedans, have made this time by sinking into oblivion all your little differences. United you must stand and united you must fall whether it be for good or for evil.

The hon.
Kao Isha-
der K. N.
Mudgal

The Honble Kao Isha-der K. N. Mudgal (Amrohat) in further support of the resolution said — Mr President Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen As has been very aptly said the resolution which is now engaging your attention is the resolution of resolutions which ever came before the Congress. From the day of the birth of the Congress, the demand for control over our own affairs the demand for self government has been the most important the most vital and essential demand of the Congress.

When you sent deputations to England of men coming from the Congress the main thing which they had to represent on which they had to elicit the help of the British people was that they were British subjects and that they were to be given all the rights of British citizenship. Equality with the self governing parts of the Empire has been our demand from the first. In the beginning as you had to make a beginning you had to ask for the introduction of the principle of representation and election in your Legislative Councils and for the expansion of their rights and the enlargement of the numbers. Nobody deluded himself with the belief that few members or even large number of members added to the councils and some expansion of its functions represented the goal of our aspirations. That was only the first step of the ladder which you had to mount. There were immense difficulties in attaining to that extent. You know what difficulties were raised in 1890 and 1891 for granting that modicum of representation which was subsequently granted in 1897 but that was as I said is the very step which had to be taken. During all the years which followed we had to reiterate our demands. We had to ask for further expansions of the councils and further extensions of the principles of representation and election. Then came what are called the Morley Minto reforms which gave you your existing Imperial and provincial councils but even in regard to that we were careful to mention that that was only the next step which had to be taken and very soon after this further steps would have to be taken. Gentlemen in the case of individuals and of nations every individual and every nation is to pass through three stages. The first is the stage of self consciousness or self realization. We had first of all to focus our self-consciousness as a nation and it was for that purpose that Indian National Congress was called into existence. After that we had to assert ourselves we had to say what we are and what we have to be and after that as in the case of individuals there comes the further stage of self control in the case of nations there is the further stage of self government. No self respecting nation can carry on its existence properly unless it is able to control its destinies to be the arbitrar of its own fate and it is that for which we have been striving and for which we now make a more articulate a more practical and more detailed demand. We were asking for self government. We were called upon to state what is it you want. There are all these differences amongst you. Even amongst you Hindus you are not united and between you and the Mahomedans there is an impassable gulf. Well gentlemen this Congress has demonstrated to the world and to all our critics that there is absolutely no difference of opinion amongst either the two large communities or amongst any sections of the reform party in India. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Now, gentlemen this proposition in its first paragraph asks you to place before the Government our demand to carry to the Crown our request that His Majesty will be pleased to issue a proclamation, assuring to the people of India that they are entitled to have self government given to them at a very early period. That is the first paragraph. In the second paragraph we put before them reforms which should be carried out immediately in regard to which there could be no difference of opinion because they are only the legitimate extensions of the principles which have been adopted. They asked for definite schemes and a definite scheme has been put forward. They asked what will Mahomedans say to this and here the representative body of the Mahomedans and the Congress Committee have sat together and have brought out a scheme to which both parties are equally pledged. This is then our reply to our critics about introducing a practical scheme. Then we come to the third part which is most vitally important at this time. It is this that India refuses to be placed on a footing of inferiority to any other part of the Empire. We said as India is the most glorious jewel in the British Empire India ought to have a place adequate to her past adequate to her present and an equal position in future. This is what we ask in the third. We refuse to be dominated by any section of any portion of the so-called self governing colonies or of the self governing portions of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We say that without India the British Empire will be of very little importance and in consequence with that importance should be the recognition accorded to us should be

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The hon
Rao Baha-
dur R. N.
Madhokkar

denied to the people in the States like Hyderabad, Baroda, and Mysore. Gentlemen, assuming that we have lost something of the capacity, how are you going to recover that capacity? By being denied admission into the inner circles of the Government or by being allowed to commit mistakes and to learn thereby? The answer is obvious

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Now, gentlemen, there is one more objection which I wish to notice and then I will retire. It has been said by that very writer that the one great and supreme objection to self government being conferred just now in this country is that we have not got sufficiently large electorates. And I may tell you in confidence that I was told personally that if you could show to England that one fifth of the population possessing sufficient political capacity then they would not object to our getting self government. Now, gentlemen, you have got 315 million people in this country—I am very poor in arithmetic—I believe one fifth of that comes to 63 millions. And at the rate of progress that we have been making in the matter of primary education, I should think it would take four or five hundred years before we get political capacity. (Laughter) I know, gentlemen that India is always famous for patience. But the time has now come for us to say definitely and without equivocation that self government is no longer to us a far off adorable dream that we want to achieve it as soon as possible by all constitutional means open to us without mincing matters and without equivocation on that point. Let it not be held up to us as an ideal to be reached within a hundred or two hundred years. Patience is of course, a great virtue, but gentlemen outspokenness too if I may be permitted to say so is sometimes a greater virtue. Let us not deceive ourselves and let us not be deceived by others by saying that we are going to be contented with this dribble of reforms. The time for that has gone by. The time has come when England should call upon its statesmen to exercise their highest gifts of statesmanship to exercise their gifts of imagination to exercise their gifts of political judgment and feel the political temperature of this country and act accordingly. (Lord Applause)

The hon
Dr. Tej
Bahadur
Sapru

The Honble Rao Bahadur B N Sarma (Madras) in further supporting the resolution said—Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen I rejoice gentlemen in this union of hearts and intellects in this vast assembly and throughout the country, showing that the time has come when our countrymen will take up the cause of self government in earnest and push it to even the extreme limit of constitutional agitation in order to achieve the desired end proceeding throughout on the assumption—I believe it to be a correct assumption—that the sole aim of the British people is to see India governed in the true interests of our countrymen, with the single aid and purpose of promoting their welfare, and that British connection rests and is recognised to rest on the united and sympathetic co operation of the people, both Indian and British moved by a sense of heavy responsibility for the welfare of their countrymen and keenly alive to the supreme importance of uniting the hearts of Britishers and Indians alike and aware of the imperative need to both countries of a permanent union between India and the rest of the others composing the British Empire. The educated thought of the country have placed before you for your adoption a scheme of reforms and hope with your approval to place it for the adoption of the British Government. Briefly put, what do the reforms amount to. We ask for provincial autonomy in domestic matters with a central legislature armed with extensive powers and completely dominating all domestic concerns, with an executive armed with extensive powers subject to the will of the Imperial Parliament as it exists at present, and, if there should be a revision, with India as a partner as an equal partner, in every sense of the term with the self governing dominions of the Empire. A question then naturally would be—are we fit for it? Are we asking for reforms along lines, lines along which we have not experimented in the past. Turn to past history, turn to mediæval history, turn to modern history, all history alike tells us that Indian peoples with rulers of their own race have been able to rule countries far more extensive than the Indian Empire of the present day, for those rulers have been wielding sway over Khandahar and Ceylon and other vast colonies which the genius of our ancestors created first in times past. Was this domination only for short periods? No, for long centuries, for periods longer than that of any empire modern or past. Then comes the question have we still capacity? I assure

The hon
Rao Baha-
dur B N
Sarma

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The hon.
Rao Bha-
dur B. N.
Srinivas

you, gentlemen, that the skill and capacity though dormant in us are not yet completely dead. If you read history, right, what does it tell us? We see a large number of autonomous states linked together by loose federal tie paying tribute and acknowledging the supremacy of the central authority of the government to the Maharajadhiraj Sultan, or Emperor. Our Maharajadhiraj Sultan or Emperor is His British Imperial Majesty. Our autonomous states are the native States of India and the provincial governments which we create under our scheme with self governing powers. The central authority is the Government of India and the Viceroy is the deputy of the Maharajadhiraj. The central authority is armed exactly as the old emperors were armed with a council of elders. They are given by our scheme advisedly vast powers over the military and over the national army which has to be created under our scheme. Gentlemen, have we weakened the British power? If the Resident of a Native State with British power at his back can keep government going cannot our governors with two executive councillors nominees of his with the British power at his back rule a province? We have provided for democratic institutions. The allies say that they are now engaged in crushing Prussian military despotism, that the future safety of mankind lies in the increase of democratic institutions and we have provided for them. Gentlemen, we have not weakened the British power in any the slightest degree? We have not lost the capacity. Then comes the question—are there not various insuperable difficulties in our way, are there are not barriers? They existed in the past they existed in Switzerland and yet there is no difficulty. The religious difficulty is the same. Then I come to the educational days. Now, remember gentlemen that the number of literate people in India is 18 millions nearly the same as the total male population of England, and are we to be told that with this literate population we cannot find enough men to rule this country when only an infinitesimal fraction thereof are able to govern India in the best interests of India? Our Universities are turning out graduates nearly as numerous as the British Universities. Then comes the question if we are not educationally backward what is that stands in the way? The colour bar. I hope that the Government will not repeat the supposed mistake and land the Empire in disaster. The true difficulty seems to be that a fear is felt that in a federal commonwealth India might in a short space of time become the paramount power. That is the real difficulty. But sufficient safeguards may be provided and the day is far off because it is only in proportion to the contribution to national defences that any state can have representation. We are economically poor and we cannot therefore contribute much and consequently we shall take a place superior to that of the colonies but inferior to that of England and there is no very great danger that we will be able to swamp the rest of the Empire in the councils of the country. Revise the history of the past review its pages and what do you find? A foreign bureaucracy is always ready to tax people for the sake of the defence of the country, for the sake of protecting its power. But the moment they come to domestic reforms they do not know where they will be they do not know whether the vast masses will support them and hence they say they cannot tax. What have you done? We have revised the electorate, broadened it so that no hair brained reformer may go forth with proposals for taxation which would not be supported by the country. It is said that we shall oppress the depressed classes. May I ask whether the Government, British Government, were dissuaded in self governing South Africa because the Kaffir and the weak Indian population were likely to be oppressed? Their conscience were not touched then. Why should it be touched now when it comes to dividing the people of this country? To me the problem is distinctly clear. We cannot afford to efface ourselves economically and from a military point of view, with a growing China, a growing Japan and a growing Russia. Friends of today may be enemies of tomorrow and we cannot have Belgium repeated here. Primary education must be spread and number of reforms must be achieved and all this can be done only under self government. Therefore it is we ask for self government and if the Britishers are true to their destiny they will confer it at no distant date. (Cheers)

Mr Joseph
Baptista

Mr Joseph Baptista, in further supporting the resolution said — "Mr President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen I can assure you that it is not without some

fear and trembling that I venture to support the resolution I understand that in this province a new commandment has been issued, "Thou shalt not be emphatic (Laughter)" "You can be phlegmatic if you like but not emphatic In other words you must not call a spade a spade That would be too emphatic. You must call it diamonds or hearts Similarly, you cannot call Home Rule It has a bad odour about it to the nose fashioned in a bureaucratic atmosphere But if you call Home Rule Self Government, then it will be all right But Ladies and Gentlemen whether it is all right or all wrong I prefer to call Home Rule Home Rule (Cheers) To my great surprise, I find that within the past few months Home Rule has become a popular cry throughout the whole country We have all become Home Rulers All believe in the creed of Home Rule There are no heretics among us no dissenters, no quakers or shakers We are all staunch and militant Home Rulers (Cheers) To what is this great change to be attributed and to whom must we be grateful for this great transformation You must give credit to the person who deserves that credit and I say most emphatically that credit is due to the magnetic personality and dynamic energy of our friend and sister, Mrs. B-sant. (Loud cheers) She is our *we* Simon de Montfort she will guide us all to victory You know she has suffered for us she has suffered for labouring for our cause with a truly heroic devotion, May I in your name assure her that we love her, that we trust her and that we shall stand by her through storm and stress (Loud cheers)

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Self Govern-
ment for
India
Mr Joseph
Baptist

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, this question of Home Rule is not merely a question of our growing aspirations It is the question of all questions the question of the destiny of India It is the most momentous and the most transcendental question that can occupy the minds of educated Indians Believe me the attainment of this destiny depends upon political principles that are applied in the government of this country You may be quite sure that destiny will not be achieved unless we combine the principles of liberty the principles of nationalism and the principles of federation in the government of this country The task before us is to rescue India from her present plight and place her on a pedestal upon which we can look with pride and pleasure (Cheers) What is the present plight of India? Is there any one who is satisfied with the present position of India? (Cries of 'No no') Go outside British India India is a mere cypher in the political world Nobody cares a fig for her and nobody cares to know what she thinks or says Is that a proper position for over 300 millions of people to occupy in this Empire? (Cries of 'No no') Within the Empire what do you find? Go to the Colonies the course of colour (Shouts of Shame Shame) In the South African War Indians stood by Englishmen and fought beside them and shed their blood for them What is the reward? Exclusion from the country or confinement in isolated places subjected to regulations so odious that it makes our blood boil (Shame) Such is the regard and such is the gratitude of a civilized and Christian country (Laughter) Coming home what do you find? The course of distrust distrust everywhere Excluded from the army, and emasculated by the Arms Act, subjected to the Press laws and God knows to what other laws as Mr Surendranath Banerjee said Apart from these what do we find With a fauna and flora which can produce everything to minister to the convenience and comforts of all people and with men skilful in production we still have 50 to 60 millions of people verging on starvation with scarcely one meal a day (Cries of 'Shame') Is this the structure of Empire with which you are satisfied? Anglo-Indian architects have had a free hand from the last 150 years and this is the structure they have erected I ask, is there any man with sense or sensibility that can look upon this structure and say that it is indeed a mansion befitting the ancient civilization and the latent potentialities of this country? (Loud cries of 'No, no.') Rather is this not a glorified *chalet*? (Laughter) I do not blame the men entrusted with the administration I say that this is entirely due to the system under which it is administered There cannot be the slightest doubt that no improvement is possible unless the present centralized system is done away with If you examine it carefully you will find that after all the present centralized system of the Government established

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ment for
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by Law in British India is a mere administrative department of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland

(At this stage the President sounded the gong but the audience enthusiastically cried Go on go on, but Mr Baptista retired saying — Obedience is a virtue—the best lesson we can learn and I must withdraw)

Mr Joseph
Baptista

Mr Jehan
Bamanjee Petit

Mr Jehangir Bamanjee Petit of Bombay, in further supporting the proposition said —

I have been asked just now to further support this proposition, and I rise to do so with the greatest possible pleasure

The motion that has been placed before you in such eloquent and forcible terms embodies the quintessence of the unanimous wish and desire of the entire people of this country as echoed in a variety of ways and from various platforms during the last quarter of a century Its pronounced and emphatic wording cannot possibly be mistaken and is open only to one interpretation and that is that this country is determined by all legitimate and constitutional means in its power to obtain what it rightly considers to be absolutely necessary for its advancement and welfare

If arguments were at all needed to commend this proposition to your acceptance these have already been advanced by the previous speakers in a manner that is bound to carry conviction It is needless to add that such difficulties as do exist, are not of our making and it is for them whose creation they are to remedy them

So far as this country is concerned it is useless to repeat that it is determined at any cost to have its heart's desire There is no doubt that the attainment of this object will mean hard work and heavy sacrifices but there is nothing which this country will not do to attain this long looked for goal

Frankly speaking I do not believe in the so called changed angle of vision of which we have recently heard so much It is all mere delusive talk and unless the people of this country work up and show by all constitutional means in their power that they are determined to have what they want I am perfectly certain that things will continue very much the same way that they did before the war You must remember that no country has ever given or will ever give freedom to another for the mere asking

What is it Ladies and Gentlemen that induced England to give Self Government to Canada and Australia? Why has even South Africa—England's enemy of yesterday—got Home Rule today? Do you know what these Colonies would have done if they had not been given what they wanted? They would have given no end of trouble to England and would have well nigh made the Government of their country impossible

You must not Ladies and Gentlemen be carried away by all the promises made to you You must also make yourselves felt You must remember that the great English Democracy—in spite of all its love of justice and fair play—is hopelessly impotent before the pernicious combination of an obstinate and insolent bureaucracy It is this peculiar system of bureaucracy that is in the way of all your progress and it is that for more than any other that you will have to fight to the bitter end before you can expect to have justice at the hands of the British people and Sovereign In my opinion unless you too like the Colonies make the Government of the country by such an unsympathetic bureaucracy impossible you will not get what you want

You have hitherto only tickled the British Lion, but he has taken no notice of you Like the Colonies you must approach him fearlessly twist his tail and rouse him to a sense of his responsibility That done take my word for it you will get what you want and Self Government, or Home Rule if you like to call it will not be withheld from you one day longer

The hon Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra further supported the resolution in an eloquent Hindi speech.

The hon
Pandit
Gokaran
Nath Misra

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ment for
India

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Bahadur
L A Govind
araghava
Aiyar

what they are. But we are prepared to change this view on two conditions. One is that that the colonies allow us to interfere in their domestic or external concerns in the very same manner in which they want us to allow them to interfere in our concerns (Hear, hear). And the second one is this: that they should show by their conduct that they are really earnest in any statement of theirs that they may make in this direction. They should show by a change in their conduct and in their angle of vision instead of treating us as inferiors or slaves, or persons bound only to minister to their wants and comforts that they recognize that it is the same liberty, the same freedom, the same culture and the same equal citizenship that we are entitled to, and if once they show and treat us as equals in their land then we shall accept this assurance, then we shall allow them to take part in the concerns which are peculiarly our own whether external or internal. Short of that we must make it clear to our governors to everybody who might be interested in this problem that we shall not willingly allow the dominions or the colonies to have a voice over us. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure indeed in supporting this resolution' (Cheers)

Lala Har
Kishan Lal.

Lala Har Kishan Lal (Punjab) — "Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the Punjab I heartily support the resolution" (Cheers)

Mr Para-
meswar Lal

Mr Parameswar Lal (Behar) — "Mr President and Gentlemen, I come before you in obedience to the Chair. The scheme has already been put before you and it has been spoken to by so many eloquent speakers that to take up the time of the Congress at this stage would be entirely useless. Therefore, Gentlemen, I only stand before you to assure that Behar whole heartedly supports this resolution" (Cheers)

Mrs Soro-
jini Naidu.

Mrs Sarojini Naidu, in supporting the resolution, said — "Mr President, and fellow citizens of the Indian nation—From the very beginning of time it has always been the woman's privilege to have the last word on any subject and though that last word is sprung on her by the tyranny of the leaders that demand Home Rule, it is to vindicate the readiness of my sex, to stand by the men of India in all that concerns their national welfare and honour that I rise to obey the mandate of this tyranny. (Hear, hear) Many speakers before me, gifted and famous, full of knowledge and full of experience, have laid before you a scheme of Self Government, and it is not for me to add words to their practical wisdom. I am merely a spectator from the watch tower of dreams, and I watched the swift and troubled, sometimes chequered but nevertheless indomitable, time spirit marching on in a pageant of triumph to the desired goal. Gentlemen, if today, Home Rule is no distant dream if it is no mere fancy of Utopia, it is due to one thing more than to any other thing and perhaps you will let me enlighten you, so that you may offer your gratitude to the right sources. Less than four years ago, in this very city of Lucknow, this city of memories, this city of dead kings, a new hope came to birth because the younger generation of Musalmans had seen a vision that made it possible for the leaders of the National Congress to realise within the scope of practical vision, of practical work, of practical achievement the supreme desire of the national soul. Gentlemen, it was my privilege to represent my great community on this occasion. It was the greatest honour of my life that I was invited to speak to this young generation of Islam that had seen this vision of Indian nationality which succeeded in passing a constitution whose essential creed was co-operation with the Hindu sister community. And because of this vision, four years after in this very city of Lucknow, we are now able to say that 'we shall have Home Rule, we will not ask for it, we will create it of our own desires, out of our own enthusiasm, out of our own capacity, out of our inviolable unity, the unity of the Hindu and the Musalman' (Hear, hear) Friends, Members of this Congress, citizens of India who have come from the farthest corners in this great country, I ask you in the name of that greater Nation that is born to day in the city of Lucknow to offer your thanks to three men, though it might indeed seem invidious to make distinctions, where so many have been earnest, so many have been loyal and co-operating, it would be indeed lacking in gratitude on the part of this great assembly, were it not to offer a public recognition of gratitude to three most brilliant, most faithful, most courageous Musalmans—the Rajah Saheb of Mahmudabad, that fearless and independent spirit,

Mazahrul Haque and thirdly Mr M A Jinnah of whom it was that the late Mr Gokhale said to me immediately after the last Muslim League in Lucknow that He is the best ambassador of the Hindu Muslim unity We are united to-day by the efforts of the Muslim League To stand united but united with such strength that nothing from outside not even the tyranny of Colonial domination shall withhold from us our rights and privileges withhold from us liberties that are due which we claim by our united voice Nothing can prevent us from achieving the desires of our heart for as Mr Surendranath Banerjee told you the final issues are in your hands The ultimate decision is yours Who will deny you the birth right of freedom If the millions of India speak with one voice and say Ours is the right of freedom we claim it we take it, you dare not deny to us the birth right of humanity, nobody dare deny it. Centuries have gone by the old divisions are healed old wounds have got covered Instead of building our regeneration on hatred and division we stand to day building our national future on the secure and imperishable foundations of love and united service. Each of us has seen a vision To each of us has come that living consciousness that it is united service for the motherland that constitutes the supremest hope of to-morrow There is no one so mean so weak so selfish as not to think that in the service of the motherland lies joy greater than all personal joys in suffering for her comes the supremest consolation in our personal sorrow and in her worship is the absolution of sin to live for her is the most victorious triumph of life to die for her is to achieve the priceless crown of immortality (Hear hear and applause) Let us then offer our lives unanimously as a tribute at the feet of the Motherland for as the great prophet of Islam says Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise (Loud applause)

The President — The resolution has been spoken to by the best men that you possess Is it your pleasure that it should be carried? (Wild cries of Yes yes and Bande Mataram) Gentlemen I propose that on your behalf a copy of this resolution should be sent under my signature as your President to His Majesty's Government in England through His Excellency the Viceroy

The resolution was then carried unanimously amid deafening cheers

XIII—Propaganda Work

Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyar (Madras) — "Mr President and friends in passing the resolution which we have acclaimed with unanimous breath today it may be said without fear of contradiction that we have laid the foundations of a new Indian nationality (Hear hear) but the building does not consist of the foundations alone Stone after stone has to be laid up by the patient building of the mason and the carpenter until the dome crowns the achievement of the builders art (Hear, hear) It is in that slow and laborious work of the building and the fashioning of the nationality that your great work in future lies and that work is not to be done by a few hands. It is a work in which the whole of the country has to join hands It is a work which cannot be achieved cheaply or without suffering It is a work which will cost sweat and there are difficulties many and insurmountable in that work Every endeavour every nerve of our being will have to be in high tension and we shall have to work so that the coping stone may be laid on that work. Now the resolution that I have been asked to submit to you for your acceptance is this —

This Congress urges the Congress Committees Home Rule Leagues and other associations which have as their object the attainment of Self Government within the Empire to carry on through the year an educative propaganda on law abiding and constitutional lines in support of the reforms put forward by the Indian National Congress and Moslem League

The Congress has always claimed to represent and it has claimed justly to represent the whole of the Indian nation and if it can be so said to represent the Indian nation never can it so justly represent the whole nation as it can today (Hear hear) Today when all differences are obliterated when Hindus and Mussalmans meet in brotherly unity when the moderates and the Nationalists are seen hand in hand It

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ment for
India

Mrs. Saroj-
Naidu

The
Pres dent

Resolut on
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Work.

Mr C P
Ramaswami
Aiyar

Resolution
III—
Propaganda
Work.

Mr C P
Ramaswami
Ayer

is the right of the Congress to demand that every association every political body should do its work for itself because the Congress is the sum total of political activity of the nation (Hear hear) This resolution emphasises that right of the Congress, that right to call upon every association working on similar lines to co operate in that great work upon which alone our future welfare depends It is also the duty of the Congress not only its right to gather unto itself forces of whatever kind may be nascent or available in this land forces which could be utilized towards the building of that fabric which it is our life dream to build That duty and that right are emphasised in this resolution and the resolution calls upon every association with similar objects to work on constitutional lines laid down by the Congress and to rear up that structure of the Indian nationality of which you have laid the foundations today (Loud applause)

Mr Jamna
das Dwarkadas
Dharmsey

Mr Jamnadas Dwarkadas Dharmsey (Bombay) Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—It is my proud privilege to be asked to second the resolution so eloquently moved by my friend Mr C P Ramaswami Ayar It is a red letter day in the History of India the day of today when the whole nation united has passed a resolution asking for self government for India (Hear hear) But it is due to the absurdity of the system of government that prevails in this country that this resolution cannot be accepted until we make up our minds to work for it and to see that this resolution is accepted after all This absurdity of the system of Government has really no parallel in the History of the World (Cries of Shame) But we are determined to do away with this system and in order that we may be able to do it efficiently we members of the National Congress urge upon all political associations to co operate with us in working with a determined will in working with all zeal and enthusiasm that we can command so that this resolution of ours may soon be an established fact We invite we ask the various Congress Committees to gird up their loins and to work for the attainment of self government for India We also invite the co operation of the Home Rule Leagues that have been established for the purpose of working for the attainment of Home Rule for India It is really a privilege that the Home Rule Leagues should work with us because the Home Rule Leagues whose co operation we invite are presided over by no lesser personages than Mrs Besant and Mr Tilak In fact Mrs Besant and Mr Tilak who wield so powerful an influence throughout the country are the life and soul of that movement (Cheers) It is a privilege really that these two great personages should consent to co operate with us in working for the attainment of Home Rule and with the co operation of the Home Rule Leagues and with the co operation of the Congress Committees if we work with a determined will to attain Home Rule for India none dare deny us the right of Home Rule which is a birthright of ours (Loud applause)

Mr C S
Ranga Iyer

Mr C S Ranga Iyer (United Provinces) Mr President Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen—The resolution that I have the honour to support is a resolution of supreme importance to this country today It is a resolution that embraces within itself the result of the working of the Indian National Congress for the last 31 years You know how when we met 31 years ago our leaders living and dead our leaders who have enrolled their names among the immortal dead and who are present here today to inspire us asked for several things They asked for simultaneous examinations in England and India for the separation of judicial and executive functions they asked for every important thing that is necessary for amelioration of the national welfare But unfortunately our prayer has fallen on deaf ears unfortunately one of the weaknesses of the bureaucracy has been the absence of regard for public opinion Consequently Gentlemen it has become necessary for us to arise betimes to go to village and hamlet to instruct each and every man to rouse the nation to a sense of the right and to a sense of the wrong that is being done to them for nothing can be won unless we carry the teeming millions of India with us

You know every great country that has reached anything like progress in politics attained it only through agitation Read the history of England and English

history will tell you that beneficent reforms came to England only through agitation. It has been a boast of English historians, it has been a proud boast of theirs, that by timely granting of concessions, they averted great violence. So far as we are concerned, in our agitation, come what may, even under the greatest provocation, we shall not resort to violence (Hear, hear), which we hate as strongly, as firmly, as openly as we hate tyranny of any kind or form (Hear, hear) Gentlemen, if violence there is or is to be in our political agitation that violence shall be only from those who inflict it upon us, but never mind, as Mr V S Srinivasa Sastri, the President of the Servants of India Society, (cheers) has so beautifully put it in his pamphlet on 'Self Government under the British flag', God's grace is with us as the grace of God is with every righteous movement, and as my great leader whom I miss in this Congress to day, Pandit Bishen Narayan Dr (cheers) used to say 'Do not think you can get self Government without making sacrifices'. 'There are rocks and breakers ahead', but the beacon star the star of hope shines resplendent on our horizon and by that star, let us steer our course.

Ladies and Gentlemen we have to agitate but what is the use of merely going to mossful stations going from place to place, and indulging in mere platitudes? As Mrs Besant used to tell us—and it is a great privilege for us to follow her—we must spend days and nights in the assiduous reading of books, we must be armed with impregnable statistics. If the late Mr Gokhale was a terror to officials it was because Mr Gokhale knew what he was talking about. Mr Gokhale could convince his antagonists. Therefore we should study our subjects well. Then we must talk to the people, inform them, because agitation is nothing but the communication of information to the people, and when we inform them the 315 millions of Indians, Hindus and Mussalmans they will speak with thoughts facts and figures, and we are bound to be heard.

There is another aspect and that is also a very important one, and though not so very important as carrying on agitation in this country, still nevertheless important. It is propaganda work in England. You know that when Parliamentary institutions were granted to Canada, when responsible government was granted to Canada, a Canadian deputation went to England, talked to the people of England and interviewed Englishmen of great consequence. It is necessary, therefore, that the Congress deputation should go to England and speak to the leaders of opinion there, to the great English democracy. I have great faith in the great English democracy, and if we speak to them the instinct of the Britisher will be with us and we are sure to carry the day. Remember in all our agitations, our motto should be—

They are slaves who fear to speak,
For the fallen and the weak,
They are slaves who dare not be,
In the right with two or three.

One word to Home Rulers before I part and that is this, remember that the Home Rule agitation is but a child of the Congress agitation for the past 31 years and I as a Home Ruler and delegate of the Congress and member of the Home Rule League believe I am voicing the opinion of everybody here when I say that the Home Rule League will work in a loyal spirit with the Congress. I know that my great leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, wants that the Home Rule Leagues should be affiliated to the Congress. I also know that there is such a feeling amongst elderly men here. When the time comes for affiliation, I am quite sure Mrs. Besant will rise equal to the occasion and affiliate them, for I am a believer in the unity of organization and when we are united, I say we shall never give up.

Though the grape shot may rattle
Or the full thunder cloud over us burst
We'll stand like a rock and the storm or the battle
Little shall harm us, though doing the worst "

The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution
XIII—
Propaganda
Work

Mr C S,
Ranga
Iyer

XIV—The War and the Man Power of India

Resolution
XIV—
The War
and the
Man-Power
of India

The Honble Mr C H Sitabvali (Bombay) " Mr President Ladies and Gentle

men I beg to move—

- (a) That this Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the sentiments conveyed in the message of the Prime Minister to the Princes and people of India and fully shares in the determination of the British people to bring the war to a triumphant issue
- (b) That this Congress regrets that larger use has not been made of the man-power of India and urges that an army may be raised immediately in India from the civil population under Indian commissioned officers for that purpose.
- (c) That the President be authorized to submit the above resolution to the Prime Minister by wire through the proper channel

The hon
Mr C. H
Sitabvali,

Ladies and Gentlemen—You are perfectly well aware that as soon as the war was declared it became very clear and manifest that the whole of India like one man had determined to stand by Britain and the Empire in this great war. But Ladies and Gentlemen it has always been a matter of surprise and regret to all of us that the man-power of India has not been utilised in the manner it should have been. Ladies and Gentlemen if immediately on the breaking out of the war, an Indian army had been raised manned by Indian officers by this time certainly India might have produced a large army of 5 millions or even more and the enemy would have been rolled back long ago across the Rhine. It is a great pity that that man power has not been utilized in the manner it should have been and this resolution calls upon the British Government to do that now at least. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance.' (Loud applause)

Mr G A
Natesan

Mr G A Natesan (Madras) " Ladies and Gentlemen—Long before the outbreak of the present war and for over a quarter of a century and more in this Congress platform and elsewhere we have protested against the impolicy and injustice of the sons of the soil being denied admissions to careers in the army. Since the war broke out, we in India have done all that we have been permitted to do. This resolution makes the last of a series of appeals which we have made to the Government to trust India more and to give us an opportunity to raise an army amongst a civil population manned by Indian officers. We have done our duty and if our response does not meet with approval, the responsibility of the refusal is upon the authorities." (Loud applause)

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously

The
President

The President—Gentlemen this finishes the business for the day. The Subjects Committee meets at 5 P M in the Subjects Committee room to finish the rest of the programme. The Congress meets to-morrow at 8 30 A M in the morning. We hope to and we must, finish before it is 12 A M. There is the Industrial Conference which meets in this very *mandi* at 1 P M.

The Congress then adjourned

The 31st Indian National Congress.

Fourth Day's Proceedings.

Saturday, 30th December, 1916

The Indian National Congress assembled at 8.50 A.M. to-day at its concluding session prolonged sittings of the Subjects Committee on the previous three days having necessitated the holding of an extra day's session. Though scores of delegates had left Lucknow the previous day there was not a perceptible fall in the attendance this morning and the proceedings were characterized by unabated enthusiasm. The President arrived amidst loud and continuous applause and was conducted to the seat amidst shouts of Vande Matram. After the singing of Vande Mataram by a group of Bengali ladies signaling the formal opening of the proceedings.

The President said — Under the rules the report of the Joint General Secretaries has to be placed before the Congress. They have presented their report and it is laid on the table. I now proceed with the programme of business before us. The first resolution in the day's agenda refers to the Patna University Bill. I call upon Principal Paranjpye to move it.

The President

XV.—The Patna University Bill

The Honble Principal R. P. Paranjpye (Bombay) who on coming forward to speak, was accorded a rousing welcome, addressed the Congress as follows —

*Resolution
No. —
The Patna
University
Bill*

'Mr President Brother Delegates Ladies and Gentlemen. The resolution that I have the honour to propose for your acceptance reads as follows —

'This Congress places on record its emphatic protest against the highly retrograde character of the Patna University Bill and strongly urges that it should be so amended as to make it a thoroughly liberal and progressive measure

*The Honble
Principal
R. P.
Paranjpye*

Ladies and Gentlemen. First as regards the terms of the Resolution it was the opinion of some of the members that this resolution should be of a rather more detailed character but the terms of the Bill which it is proposed to condemn in this resolution are so wholly bad that the resolution would have had to be exceedingly long and consequently it was thought better that speakers to the resolution should detail these various conditions to which objection is to be taken. I hope in the few minutes I stand before you to convince you that most of this Bill is entirely to be condemned. Mr President the large gathering we have here before us owes its existence to the introduction of English education in this country and it is because we feel that the introduction and the wide spread of Western education is so very vital to the progress of this country that we look with great care upon any proposal whose effect will be to stop or retard the progress of English education in this country. It is because we feel that the effect of this Bill will be to retard the spread of English education that we think that this Bill is entirely of a retrograde character. Universities in India were first started in the years 1858 and 1859. The University of Calcutta was established in 1858 and those of Bombay and Madras followed in the year 1859. Since then in spite of various shortcomings—for what human institution and what new human institution in particular is not full of shortcomings—these Universities and the other Universities of the Punjab and Allahabad that were started later on have done exceedingly great work. India would not have been what it is but for the existence of these Universities. These Universities I say, have done their good work and we want that in any new Universities that are to be started in this country all the good points of the old Universities should be preserved as far as possible, we want that further good points should be introduced in the new and that the new Universities should not be emasculated and their usefulness taken away.

Resolut on
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The Patna
Un iversity
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The Hon'ble
Princ pal
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Ladies and Gentlemen the constitution of the present Universities we know is unsatisfactory. A later resolution will deal, to a certain extent with some of the points in the constitution of the present Universities. Whatever that may be our present Universities are to some extent at least susceptible to popular influence. They fairly often reflect public opinion. Only during the last fortnight we have had the Bombay University passing a resolution in condemnation of the Bill against which I am rising to speak today. I hope that the other Universities in the country will follow the example of the Bombay University and record their emphatic protest against the Bill. The present Universities then have a constitution which is not a very liberal one but which we hope will soon be liberalized by an amending Act of the Imperial Legislative Council. But while we are thinking of amending the constitution of all these present Universities and making them more liberal what does this present Bill contemplate? It contemplates starting a University which will be a University only in name. It will be a mere department of Government. The present Universities have for instance the following constituted authorities first of all at the head is the Chancellor under him there is the Vice Chancellor who is the President of the Senate in the absence of the Chancellor and who is to a certain extent the ornamental head of the University then there is the Senate which is the chief governing body of the University. The Senate of the three larger Universities have hundred Fellows, out of whom 80 are nominated by Government 10 elected by graduates and 10 by the Faculties so that the popular element in the Senate really consists of the 10 Fellows elected by the registered graduates and to some extent of the 10 elected by the Faculties. Even in spite of the 80 nominations of Government our Universities are susceptible to popular influence. After the Senate we have the executive body called the Syndicate which is really speaking a committee of the Senate elected wholly by the Senate except that the Vice Chancellor is its Chairman and the Director of Public Instruction has become its *ex officio* Vice Chairman by the recent Universities Act of Lord Curzon. Before that the Director of Public Instruction was not on the Syndicate *ex officio* and the Syndicate was wholly elected by the Senate. The Syndicate remember is an executive body. Although the Syndicate is a statutory body under the new Universities Act it is practically responsible to the Senate although let me say in passing the tendency of the present Syndicate is to try to gradually extend and usurp more and more power into their hands and it is a tendency which the popular members of the Senate are always trying their best to combat. What does the new University of Belhar and Orissa do now? It tries to solve the old difficulty by vesting the whole power in the hands of the Syndicate. The Senate is to be a mere debating club in the Patna University. A clause in the Bill distinctly says that the Senate is to be a merely deliberative body and that its decisions are not to be binding on the Syndicate. (Cries of Shame.) The Senate therefore may possibly be an ornamental body but it would be a body without a soul. Again if at any rate the Syndicate was to be wholly elected by the Senate it may be something. But what is the constitution proposed for the Syndicate? It is to consist of 16 members. There is the Vice Chancellor on it the Director of Public Instruction of Belhar and Orissa is also to be on it and not content with these two big and important officials on the Syndicate whose influence remember will be proportionate not to their mere numbers, but to the important positions they occupy—over and above that the Chancellor, who is the Lieutenant Governor of Belhar and Orissa reserves to himself the right of nominating four members to the Syndicate. Over and above that again five other members are to be selected from the staffs of these colleges. I shall show later on how most of these colleges are to be Government colleges and most of these five members I expect will be also Government officials and will be in the hands of the Government itself. There will be only three or four others who if at all, will represent popular opinion. What would happen is that these popular members on the Syndicate may cry themselves hoarse over any reactionary proposals but the official majority on the Syndicate will be able to carry out any proposal which they have in their minds and do whatever they like with the system of higher education in the province. There is thus the Syndicate and the Senate a body without a soul, the Syndicate having all the power

and being moreover practically a Government body. But the Government are not even content with that. A further clause in the Bill says that if the Chancellor is not content with anything that the University has done he can appoint an extra body to enquire into any thing that he likes and not only enquire into anything but to force his conclusions on the University after a mere formal consultation with the Senate and the Syndicate. And this body thus constituted is to be called a University ! I do not think it will be anything more than a mere department of Government and if we want the tree of higher education to grow luxuriantly in our country, we cannot allow a mere department of Government to be in charge of our system of higher education.

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Then there is the Vice Chancellor. In other Universities the Vice Chancellor is the Chairman of the Syndicate, but here he is only a honorary officer. He is appointed by the Government and presides over the meetings of the Senate. Though he is an honorary official, we, members of the Senate think that he is one of ourselves and is only the first among us. What is he in the Patna University ? He is to be a paid official of Government and will carry out the behests of Government and the orders of Government. A clause in the Bill says that every power that is not reserved by a regulation to the Syndicate or the Senate—I beg your pardon no power is reserved to the Senate—is to be in the hands of the Vice Chancellor. He is to be a kind of residuary legatee of the University. (Laughter and applause)

Well then that is about the constitution of the University which you will find from the short description that I have given you is wholly reactionary and is entirely incapable of any response to any public demand and any public opinion. But that does not mean all. There are various other clauses. This University it is first prete ded, will be a residential University. I have no objection to residential Universities as such but this Patna University is if I may say so neither fish nor fowl nor good red herring. It is neither a residential University nor is it an affiliating University. It is a compound of both and mixes the bad ingredients of both these kinds of Universities, without having any of the advantages of either.

First of all before I come to the general nature of these Universities I shall make one or two remarks upon residential and affiliating Universities. I myself have been a member of both, in Bombay, I have been a student and member of an affiliating University. In the Cambridge University I have been a member of a residential University, and far be it from me to say that residential Universities like Cambridge are entirely useless. They are exceedingly important and if we could introduce Cambridge and Oxford in India as they are in England we should be glad indeed and higher education will receive an impetus which it could hardly receive in any other way. But let me tell you that residential Universities serve only one distinct section. Anybody who has been to Cambridge or Oxford will tell you that they are very expensive Universities. They are not Universities for the common people. In England over and above Oxford and Cambridge Universities, there are various other provincial Universities and there are the important Scotch Universities which are poor men's Universities, by means of which the man gets his higher education. Oxford and Cambridge subserve the needs of the rich middle and aristocratic classes of England who can afford to spend three or four hundred pounds a year. People come to Oxford and Cambridge to get a certain stamp of gentility and position which only Oxford and Cambridge can give. If we start in a province only one University pretending to be an imitation of Oxford and Cambridge, though not in giving us all their advantages, what is the good of a University like that ? For the purpose of India where we have not got a large class of rich people who can afford to spend large sums on the education of their children it is not possible to have residential Universities alone in this country. I have no objection to residential Universities at all. But they are to be an addition to affiliating Universities and not substitutes for them.

Well then this Patna University pretends to be a residential University but the only 'residentialness' that I see in its constitution is that no new college

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is to be started in Patna which is not within a radius of one mile from the Senate House of the Patna University. Then a very important provision of this Bill is that new colleges are to be started except in Patna, or as I have said within a circle in Patna and in four other centres of the province. At present the province of Behar and Orissa is badly provided with colleges. There are two or three colleges in Patna and there are five colleges in five other centres. Now, it is proposed under this Bill that of these colleges one is to be killed outright, the college at Monghyr is to be entirely stopped because it is said that it is not a large college or an efficient one. Other colleges are to be allowed to remain in the four other places in a state of so to say suspended animation because although they are to be allowed to remain they are to be strictly forbidden to teach any but the most elementary subjects, they are not to be allowed to teach honours subjects for the B A and no subjects at all for the B Sc and they are only to be affiliated in science for the Intermediate science examination. The college at Cuttack is only to be affiliated for honours in B A and pass course for the B Sc degree. But see the effect of taking away all affiliation from outside colleges for anything that will raise their importance. It is proposed in fact to kill all the mossy colleges to bring everything to Patna. There was in the Cambridge University a college which was started on this principle. Cardinal Wolsey of whom you may have heard thought of starting a College in Cambridge. He took the endowments of three or four colleges closed those colleges and built a new one. It might have been all right in Cambridge where there were several other colleges and that too in the days of Henry VIII. That will not do here and in these days. Again these colleges that are allowed to exist practically to be glorified editions of high schools not really spreading higher culture. In these different centres in which they are to be located. Now a teacher you can take it from me always aspires to teach the highest standard possible. If you tell a teacher worth the name that he is to teach elementary Geometry or Algebra, that teacher will lose all interest in teaching. You must allow every institution proper liberty to expand give it proper scope for its ambition but if you once for all tell those teachers that they should proceed to a certain extent and no more that institution is not likely to be very efficient. By all means insist on proper conditions. If a college aspires to teach higher subjects in science ask it to provide for the proper teaching of these subjects ask them to provide proper science laboratories and museums and workshops if it asks permission to teach other subjects like Sanskrit or Philosophy require it to have a proper and an adequately qualified staff and adequately equipped libraries. All these conditions no one objects to but when you say that they are to be merely pass colleges and can never hope to rise any further I say that these institutions will be practically half dead. Not only is this the case from the point of view of the institutions themselves but it is more so from the point of view of the students. What if students are not able to go to Patna for higher education? Are you going to condemn all the youth of the province of Behar and Orissa to a mere pass degree and that only if they are born at any of the few centres? The Indian student is always a poor student. The goddess of learning and the goddess of wealth are not generally found together in this country, and we must in any educational system we are starting always take into consideration this fact that our students are poor and see how facilities are to be afforded to them for higher education.

Again every body in the far corners of the province of Behar and Orissa cannot afford to go to Patna or even to these four centres but this Bill provides that no new colleges are to be started in other centres. Let us see how new colleges come to be started. They are started from various considerations generally some philanthropic or public spirited man wants to start a college and he may have also a personal motive and may want to perpetuate his name or to gain certain popularity or fame in his own circle. That is a very natural ambition. We need not spurn or condemn it because everybody is not wholly philanthropic. New colleges all over the country are started from these double motives. There is the philanthropic motive and there is the personal motive of glory or fame. Nobody should condemn them. Where there are these colleges likely to be started? A man will start an institution if he has got the money,

not in a place where he will never be seen or heard of. If he has money he will start it in his own place and would like to do something for his own people with whom he is intimately associated. New Universities and new colleges generally come into being in this manner. Only recently in Bristol, for instance, a new University was started with a donation from one individual, a big tobacco manufacturer of the city. The whole University was founded with the aid of this donation. All provincial English Universities have been founded in a similar manner. The Manchester University arose out of the Owens College, the Birmingham University similarly rose from the gift of one or two men. Many private colleges in this country also have risen like this. Now it is only in this manner, by stimulating popular liberality and, to a certain extent also, by stimulating this legitimate ambition of fame and glory, it is by such methods that we shall be able to get many public institutions. This method of confining all higher educational institutions to only four centres will kill all this fountain of philanthropy at its very source. We shall never get any new institutions in this manner. Now there is this further grievance. We have been hearing in this country from all parts the cry of congestion in colleges. Everywhere students are being refused admission into colleges, because there is no room for them and various regulations for admissions into colleges require that such and such provision should be made and colleges are not ready. Hundreds of students are being turned away from the gates of colleges simply because there is no room for them. It is simply pitiful that young men should be denied opportunities of realizing the best that is in them. When colleges are for all time to come to be confined to very small number of places in the province of Behar and Orissa, what is to be done with the growing number of young students that want and aspire to get higher education? After all we must see that the future of the country is dependent on the spread of higher education. If we tell these young people that there is no hope for them and no provision for higher education for them, they are sure to be most discontented young men and even the political result of such a state of things is bound to be very bad. I therefore, say that the constitution of this University from the point of view of these external and internal colleges is possible the worst feature of this Bill. By all means require any conditions to be fulfilled before affiliating a college but do not once for all slam the door in the face of students and people who may want to start colleges.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the grievance complained of in this resolution is not a provincial grievance merely, although Behar is the first in front of this danger. The future of the Behar people is of course necessarily bound up with the existence of a proper University. The character of their whole future depends upon whether they are going to get a University responsive to public ideas and capable of continuous development. But over and above that there is the wider point of view, the point of the whole of India. Remember, that the five existing Universities and the sixth that is to be started will not do for the whole country for all time. Even a small country like England has got 15 or 16 Universities. Germany has got over 30 Universities. Little Italy has over 20 Universities. India is not going to be satisfied with 5 or 6 Universities for all time to come. For the proper provision of University education several Universities—I was going to say hundreds of Universities—will be required in this country, but only if they are properly started and established. Already we hear of schemes of new Universities, a new University for Burma, for Dacca for the Central Provinces, and our late Governor of Bombay told us that we are likely to have a University at Poona, at Ahmedabad, and Karachi, and Madras people are talking of a new University for the Andhra province and another in Trichinopoly also. There may be many other schemes which I have not heard of, remember that all these new Universities which are in contemplation are bound to become a matter of practical politics sooner or later, I myself believe very soon. Therefore, if we allow a reactionary Bill of this type to be once placed on the statute book, the new Universities will not contain any of the few liberal provisions which at present exist in our old Universities. All new Universities will be modelled on the Patna University. It is therefore, a question not only for Behar and Orissa but for the whole of India. It is a very

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other college to the University of Patna But what about the number of students who intend to train themselves in Universities? Where are they to come from? You might know that before this the jurisdiction of the Universities have been settled and Calcutta will not be permitted to affiliate any college from Behar Now where are these students to go? Gentlemen it will be said that a restriction must be put upon the number in order to raise the standard Do you agree to this principle? It amounts to this that in order to make the apex of a triangle sufficiently high you must restrict the base contract the base Is it possible that we can have a sufficient high standard? How can we aim at a very high standard if we do not have a broad base? But our official friends want us to believe that it will be possible and that the only practical way to have a high top is to have a small base (Laughter) The next restriction is about the course of studies Only one college is to have affiliation in honours in science Only two colleges are to have affiliation in some honours and some arts subjects As regards the rest they must be satisfied with ordinary pass course As regards external colleges they are not presumed to teach any scientific course at all Is this justice to the students of Behar? You all know that only two or three days ago one of the provincial Governors His Excellency the Governor of Madras congratulated one of our young friends who is now in Cambridge on his high attainments in Mathematics I ask you how many Ramanujams there are today in Behar who will not be able to have their parts developed on account of this absence of facilities to join Universities? And what is the justification for this restriction placed upon the talents of young Behar not only of those who are there now but those who are coming in the future generations? Is it consistent with the policy of any Government that the young minds that are there should not be allowed to have their fullest development? Is it in the interest of the land that such a policy should be allowed to continue for any length of time? Still this policy has been adopted in this connection Then there is another restriction or a set of restrictions in connection with the Government of the University Gentlemen in this matter there has been a regular evolution We who are accustomed to move in a somewhat freer atmosphere in the University of Calcutta know of only two matters in connection with which the Government have reserved powers in their hands One of them is affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges and the second is the appointment of University professors As regards the rest all the powers are in the hands of the Senate of the Syndicate Of course this system I believe is also prevalent in the sister Universities constituted under the Universities Act of 1904 Well we thought that similar powers would be granted us and that they would be given in the future But then came the report of the Committee on the Dacca University and afterwards came the constitution of the Benares University and gradually we find that the reins were being tightened day by day Next has come this constitution of the University of Behar We can all now imagine what is going to be the future course and what is going to be the future constitution of any Universities that are to come I would leave it to you now to judge whether the restrictions and conditions which have been offered to this University would be helpful to the growth of University or to something else In other words I would like you to consider whether these restrictions and these conditions would lead to growth or decay and atrophy

Mr S
Sinha

Mr S Sinha (Behar) —“Mr President Brother-delegates Ladies and Gentlemen I rise to support the resolution which has been placed before you in such eloquent terms by the distinguished educationist Principal Paranjpye and two distinguished public men from Madras and Bengal My duty before you is to tell you that we in Behar feel very grateful to you for taking up this question and giving it your unstinted support. You have heard from previous speakers that Behar is opposed to a man to the unprogressive and reactionary measure embodied in the Patna University Bill The reason for this is not far to seek for after hearing the previous speakers I am sure you feel satisfied that the Patna University Bill is the most addled egg that could have been hatched by the Education Department of the Government of India There is hardly

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statements in the nature of a confession shall not be taken except under the safeguards provided in the case of accused persons under the Code of the Criminal Procedure that as soon as possible and before an order for internment is made after arrest all papers and statements in connection with the case should be laid before a Committee consisting of a Judge of the High Court a non official practising lawyer and a Judge belonging to the Indian Civil Service for consideration and that proper facilities for legal assistance be afforded to persons arrested under the Defence of India Act

- (b) That in case of proceedings under Bengal Regulations III of 1818 and similar Regulations in other Provinces the same procedure may be followed so far as practicable
- (c) That the Congress strongly protests against the unjust orders passed by the Governments of Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar, prohibiting Mrs Besant from entering the said Provinces and earnestly urges the Government of India to allay public feeling by advising the Governments concerned to cancel the orders in question

Friends the resolution says in the first place do not use the Act or the Regulation with such frequency or without pressing necessity And secondly the resolution says if you do use it you must provide the five safeguards which are outlined in the resolution These five safeguards are first facility for legal assistance at the outset second a definite charge third opportunity for explanation and safeguard against improper confession fourth shorter period of detention after arrest and before release or internment and fifth a tribunal commanding confidence

I may say at once that the Congress is in complete agreement with the avowed object of the Act It has been laid down by a high authority that the avowed object is the prevention of political crimes which are an expression of 'enmity between the Government and the people. There is no quarrel over that The difference is about the method by which Government is seeking to attain the object The present administration of the Act the Congress says is defeating the very object of the Act You are using the Act where there is no necessity for its application You want an example of it? You have it in clause (c) of the resolution Was it necessary to apply the Act against our gifted and inspired leader Mrs Besant? (Applause) Mrs Besant visited Calcutta shortly after the application of the Act against her in Bombay and in the Central Provinces Did the Government of Bengal lose anything speaking from the bureaucrats point of view by allowing her to come to Calcutta? Has the Government of the United Provinces lost anything by allowing her to come here? (Cries of No no) Where then was the necessity for the application of the Act against her? Such unnecessary application of the Act only provokes enmity between the Government and the people (Cheers)

His Excellency Lord Carmichael has assured us in Bengal in a public speech that he believes there is no harsh administration of the Act But is that a correct statement of fact? (Cries of No no) If that is a correct statement of fact how is it that we are having in Bengal a number of infructuous house searches which lead to no result beyond the promotion of enmity between the Government and the people? If that is a correct statement of fact how is it that so many young men, some of them our best young men have been arrested and detained in solitary cells for a month occasionally with long stretches of starvation and want of drink and afterwards released? (Cries of Shame) If that is a correct statement of fact, how is it that you have arrested young men on their way to the University hall about to sit for University examinations? What would have been lost if you had waited for four days and then arrested them after allowing them to sit for the University examination? Is that not a harsh administration of the Act?

Then we have been assured by His Excellency that he believes that the Act has been applied only against persons whom he believes to be really guilty, either as the

train of the conspiracy or as the hand of the conspirator or as a recruiter. Very well. But in the next breath His Excellency says that the evidence against the third class the recruiters, is such as could not be put forward in a court of law. Is that not condemnation in itself? But His Excellency assures us that he *believes* that these men were guilty. No such assurance was necessary. We never suggested that any person in any responsible position would deprive a man of his personal liberty without believing in his guilt. We never doubted the sanity of His Excellency. We know that His Excellency is in Government House Calcutta and not in a lunatic asylum. (Laughter) But if that assurance is not necessary, I may say that it is perhaps equally unnecessary for us to assure His Excellency that we equally honestly believe that many young men innocent young men with bright prospects in life, have been ruined by the application of the Act. (Cries of 'Shame') There is, however one assurance which I want to offer as necessary. That assurance is that the Criminal Investigation Department the spoilt child of the Bengal bureaucracy, has mastered the art of making out a circumstantially corroborated *prima facie* case for the prosecution which stands no risk of being tested by skilful cross examination. We can not allow that spoilt child to have a sharp knife in his hand. The safeguards we have outlined in this resolution are the minimum necessary for the safety of the innocent citizen. We are not here insisting upon a regular trial in an open court. A trial is only a means to an end. A regular trial in open court is perhaps, the most satisfactory means of arriving at justice. If you say that in these abnormal times that cannot be adopted, substitute it by some other means. We do not in this resolution quarrel with you for that. But you cannot substitute injustice for justice without provoking enmity between the Government and the people. We want an effective safeguard to see that justice is secured. What is wanted is not mere assurance of your belief in guilt, not mere assurance that justice is being in fact done but an honest effort to convince the party concerned and the public that justice is being done. For the purposes of Government it is not enough that justice is in fact being done. Even more important than that fact is the honest effort to convince the party and the public that justice is being done. If you do not do that, please do not expect public opinion to be on your side. (Prolonged applause)

Mr K. A. Ajaya Aiyar (Madras, in seconding the resolution, said — "Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen. You all know that the Defence of India Act was enacted for war purposes and that it is to remain in force only during the war and six months after. Instead of the Act being applied for war purposes it is being applied for purposes not at all required for the prosecution of the war. It is in our sister Presidency of Bengal that extensive use is made of this enactment and the mover of this Resolution has already drawn your attention to the way in which it is being worked in that Province. Lord Carmichael the Governor of Bengal told us the other day that in all these cases, although he was personally satisfied that persons brought under the Act were really guilty yet the evidence adduced in them could not satisfy a court of law. Gentlemen, does not that statement carry condemnation in itself? We know of only one decision which can command popular approval and that is a decision by a court of law, and if a decision is not such as to satisfy a court of law, it cannot command the approval of the public. Then, again, you know it is a glorious principle of English Jurisprudence that even ten guilty men may be allowed to escape rather than one innocent man should suffer. Therefore it is that we ask that this Defence of India Act should be hedged in by the five safeguards which have been outlined in the resolution.

Now passing on to the third part of the resolution which concerns Mrs Besant, I have a few remarks to offer. What is the lead and front of Mrs Besant's offence that the Government of the Central Provinces and of Bombay should pass an order that she is not to set her foot within the precincts of those two provinces? Is it because she loves our motherland so much and loves us all so much and works for us at great personal risk and ignominy that she should be prevented from entering those provinces? You are all aware that the Government of India have issued instructions to all Local Governments that in cases where action is taken under the Defence of

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India Act and an order is issued preventing a person from entering a province explanation should invariably be taken from that person before issuing such an order. And yet in the case of Mrs Besant that procedure was not at all adopted and absolutely no explanation was taken from her before those orders were passed (Cries of Shame) Therefore it is that we ask for the cancellation of those two orders at once. If Mrs Besant can come and speak in Bengal or in Madras or in Lucknow, why we ask should she be prevented from going to Bombay and the Central Provinces? Hence it is that we express our emphatic condemnation of these orders and ask for their cancellation. With these words ladies and gentlemen I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Mr Sris-
chandra
Chatterjee

Mr Srischandra Chatterjee (Dacca) in supporting the resolution, said — Ladies and Gentlemen I have the fortune or misfortune of belonging to that part of Bengal where the operation of this Act is most vigorous and extensive. When this Act was enacted it was understood that it would be most sparingly used but in practice it is otherwise. In Bengal according to the Government calculation till September, 479 persons were interned more than 60 persons were detained under regulation III of 1888 that obsolete Act. Well you know against whom this Act is generally operated—against persons who are not *persona grata* with the police who are not sycophants who have a sense of self respect and who are generally connected with charitable institution. You will be surprised to learn that these persons are called according to the C I D political suspects in the abbreviated form P S. Well you know what the political suspect is in Bengal. I was told once by a person in authority—who is a high personage of authority—that even our leaders Babu Surendranath Banerjee Babu Bhupendranath Basu and your President of this Congress Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar were political suspects (Cries of Shame) This Act is directed against political suspects and the persons interned you will be surprised to learn are zamindars landholders vakils pleaders students professors of colleges Kavirajes doctors people of all shades (The President —A district munsif also) There was one case of a munsif of course. He lost his service on the report of the police. These are the persons against whom this Act is directed. I have not come here to discuss the merits or the demerits of individual cases. I have no complaint to make in regard to the treatment of anarchists of course they go their way. We have no anarchists in Bengal. I can assure you I have the privilege and advantage of reading the literature of so called anarchists. I have read and if you do you will not find that in Bengal there is any anarchist who may be said to be in league with Germans. Bengalis are not fools. They do not wish the Germans to come and the English to go. They will not have Germans here. They understand the position very well. This Act cannot be used against Bengalis. As regards other parts of India I have no information and I cannot say about its application to other parts. As for Bengal there is no anarchist.

What I object to is the procedure. Well you know what is the procedure when a boy or a gentleman is arrested. On one fine morning you will find a house surrounded by the police with bayonets guns and revolvers. The police enter the house. They enter the house and the house is searched. Nothing incriminating is found. What are the things found? Some books of Vivekananda some books written by Mrs Basant some books like the Gita pictures of Vivekananda and Chaitanya and these things are taken away. The police report many incriminating things have been found. They say Why do you read the Gita? You should not have pictures of Chaitanya and Vivekananda because they are nationalists. Then the boy is taken away. We do not know where. The officer arresting cannot say where. He can only say he is arrested under section 12 a). Those words are Greek to the boy's parents. The boy is taken away in *hujuth*. You will be surprised to learn that no charge is formulated in writing. The boy is not allowed to read the charge against him. Of course in his last Darbar speech His Excellency Lord Carmichael told us that an opportunity is given. Personally I can assure you that no opportunity is given. Nothing is asked about the charges. If the guardian of the boy asks the search-officer he will be referred to the Superintendent of Police. The latter will say, I do

not know go to the C I D, the department for crushing the manhood of India. If the man goes to the C I D officer he will say 'I can tell you the charge but better induce your ward to make a statement. You will be surprised to know what the statement is that is asked for. 'Mention who are your brains who are your hands, who are your recruiters. The guardians do not know. In one case one officer who may be called the pillar of the India Government—he worked for about 25 years in the service of the Government—he was asked to ask his son to make a statement. He said 'I will rather see the dead face of my boy than see him make a statement as required by the C I D. Then the C I D go to the boy and say 'Well devil you are an anarchist. Tell me names otherwise you are in my hands. And the boy is taken to the Kyd Street House. You will be surprised to know—they are only rumours and I think they are not without foundation—how these boys are treated there. I have got in my hand a document written by one of these boys—I am not going to read it—who was arrested at Allahabad and taken to Calcutta and when tried by the Special Tribunal at Dacca he wrote out the document. He was taken to Dullando House. (Cries of Read it read it.) It is a document eight pages long and I am not going to read it. He was kept there seven days. He asked for a glass of water. I will not say what he was offered. The C I D officer who was an Englishman was asked by the boy, 'What do you mean by this? He told him 'You deserve it. The boy said to the Englishman 'You are a brute you have no sympathy and you refuse a glass of water. He was then given a glass of water. (The President at this stage sounded the gong but voices of Go on go on came from the audience.) He was tried in Dacca. Of course even the Special Commissioners could not convict him. He was acquitted. Of course he was interned. No opportunity was given to him to prove his case. Is there no open enquiry to be made about these boys even in ordinary cases? In these circumstances it is desirable that as suggested in the resolution a committee should be formed to enquire into the cases of these boys. My second point is that ordinary cases which can be tried by ordinary tribunals are tried by special Commissioners only to curtail the ordinary rights of citizens. Why should ordinary cases be tried by Special Tribunals? Ordinary tribunals must be quite sufficient for these purposes. In the case tried in Dacca even the Crown represented that there was no political offence involved in it but the ordinary trial was denied. The legality of this Act has been questioned by such eminent gentlemen as Lord Loreburn and Sir Hilbert Courtney sitting on the Committee of the Privy Council in connection with the Indian Amendment Act. I suggest that eminent lawyers of this Congress ought to consider the matter seriously and devise means as to how to deal with the case of these boys who are thus ill treated under the Defence of India Act. I thank you on behalf of the people of Dacca for having taken the matter in your hands.

Mr Nanak Chand (Punjab) — Mr President Ladies and Gentlemen. It is an obvious fact that in the provinces where the Defence of India Act is in force its provisions are so extensively used as to create a great deal of mental unrest not only in the provinces concerned but also throughout the country. This mental unrest if allowed to grow will and must create discontent and make the executive officers of the Government unpopular. The real objects of the Government are thereby defeated instead of being attained. I therefore consider it my duty to support this resolution and to frankly place before you the position of our province the Punjab. You are all aware that the Punjab was one of the provinces which were first to be affected by the Defence of India Act. In the year 1915 the first conspiracy trial was held under this Act by the Special Tribunal appointed for this purpose. This was known as the first Lahore Conspiracy case as distinguished from the subsequent supplementary conspiracy case. In the first case 25 men were sentenced to the extreme penalty of law and 27 were transported for life and the appeals to the Punjab Government were almost all rejected. It was however the Government of Lord Hardinge that thought it fit on a re-examination of the evidence in the cases to commute the death sentences on 16 of them into transportation for life but there is one aspect of the operation of the Act to which I invite your special attention. In this

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first Lahore Conspiracy case a person was sent up by the police on flimsy evidence but the Special Tribunal at the close of the prosecution evidence discharged him forthwith. If his explanation had been taken by a responsible judicial officer instead of by a police officer after supplying him with a copy of the charge sheet and then the case had been placed before an advisory committee as proposed in this resolution that person would not have had the disgrace of being sent up before the Special Tribunal at all, but the case of this person does not end here. I am told that soon after that person was interned in a far off place under the Defence of India Act. It is more than a year now and he is still interned there. He his relatives and his friends cannot be expected to thank the Defence of India Act or the authorities on the restraint upon his liberty although it is self evident that there was not only no reliable evidence against him for conviction before an ordinary criminal court but the Special Tribunal also refused to convict him. I am also told that the residents of that far off place both Hindus and Mahomedans, sent up a memorial to the Punjab Government for his release stating that from his movements and conduct and purity of life they believed him to be a thoroughly loyal subject of His Majesty the King Emperor but the fact remains that he is still interned and he has not been released. I will place before you another fact in support of this resolution. In a recent speech His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was pleased to say that a certain number of interned persons had been let off. It would have been indeed very magnanimous on His Honour's part if he had said that they were let off because there was some credible evidence against those interned persons but it would be otherwise if these interned persons were set free because there was no such evidence against them. The public would like to have an examination of the evidence against each of them by a committee of two independent persons in order to know if it was an act of pure magnanimity.

This course if adopted would at once show the police administration and the working of this Act in their true light. The Punjab is very unfortunate there exist religious differences here and there not only amongst Hindus and Mussalmans against each other but also amongst Hindus and Sikhs of a certain type who call themselves non-Hindus. This accounts for the unreliable reports made by the police. I do not mean to say for one moment that there are no honest men in the police but they are misled by the army of informers who trade on the credulity of the officers and on whom the C I D has conferred powers which they are unfit to exercise.

With these remarks Ladies and Gentlemen I support the resolution (Loud applause)

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously

Resolution XVII—Education

Resolut on
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Education

Mr G S
Arundale

Mr G S Arundale (Madras)—Mr President and Brother delegates I have in the first place to apologise to you for the length of this resolution. But the education resolution is as important as the Home Rule resolution we passed on Friday and therefore perhaps the apology is not so essential as it might seem. The resolution runs as follows—

- (a) That this Congress records its deliberate conviction that to foster the development of high education in India it is necessary that (1) administrative and educational service should be filled mainly by qualified Indians the existing distinction between the Indian and Provincial Services being done away with and that (2) a substantial majority of the members of the Senates of the Universities now existing or to be established should be elected by the graduates of the Universities and by the professors and teachers of institutions affiliated thereto and that such Senates should have full control over their own executive and educational policy
- (b) That this Congress is strongly of opinion that Government should assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education than is done at present and that the rules relating to the maximum number of

admissions into a class fees and grants in aid should be modified and that in the matter of grants in aid the present differences between European and Indian students should be abolished and facilities afforded to all deserving pupils irrespective of race caste or creed for receiving the benefits of higher education

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- (c) That in view of the paramount importance of educating the masses and the experience of other countries which shows that the diffusion of elementary education is essential to widespread industrial education and general progress this Congress urges upon the Government of India the necessity of taking early steps to make elementary education free and compulsory
- (d) That in view of the experience of other countries this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the urgent necessity of starting an adequate number of industrial agricultural and commercial schools and similar institutions of a higher type to provide suitable education for industrial and commercial careers which will have the additional advantage of relieving the pressure on accommodation in general schools and colleges
- (e) That this Congress is further of opinion that if necessary and until national control is effectively secured over the educational system voluntary organizations independent of Government control should be started and developed for the purpose of founding and expanding schools and colleges and for imparting general, technical and commercial education suited to the needs of the country
- (f) That in the opinion of this Congress compulsory religious instruction in any school or college aided out of public funds to pupils the consent of whose parents has not been previously obtained is incompatible with the policy of religious neutrality to which Government has pledged itself and urges the early insertion of a conscience clause in the Educational Code to prevent interference on the part of school or college authorities with the religious beliefs of their pupils

That Brother delegates is the general resolution I venture to assert that this resolution expresses the same disadvantages with regard to education as we have already expressed with regard to the Government of this country I think that this resolution is in the same way a step towards the final and complete control of India over the education of her own children Behind every one of the clauses of this resolution is one fundamental fact In the question of Home Rule you will see written up there (pointing to the ceiling of the Congress *pandal*) 'Good Government is no substitute for Self Government I say with regard to education that good education is no substitute for national education (Applause) This is the fundamental fact And this ideal means that the training of the youth of India must be in the hands of the teachers of their own race This is of essential importance in the development and reconstruction that is now taking place Everywhere else but in India this is a cardinal principle Why should it not be a cardinal principle in India too? And it is to establish this principle in India that we are asking you to day to support this most important resolution India refuses any longer to be an educational dependency of Great Britain (Hear, hear and applause) India refuses to be an educational dependency of a country which as Lord Haldane has told us lags behind many other countries in the matter of educational progress We want to be in the forefront as once in ancient days we were in the forefront and as we shall be in the forefront of world education in the near future (Applause) The spirit of our national traditions the spirit of our national aspirations must everywhere permeate Indian schools and colleges and we shall not be satisfied until such a spirit is broadcast everywhere throughout the land What are the defects of the present system? In the first place as Mrs Besant told you yesterday we have been refused free and compulsory education Mr Gokhale made all possible efforts

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Arundale

but his efforts were in vain. We have therefore to say at the outset that if the absence of education stands in our way it is not our fault, it is the fault of those who govern this country, for they have refused us free and compulsory education and that is the primary defect in the educational system as we have it at present. Then, we find the other obstructive measure of Lord Curzon's, the Universities Act of 1904 and the new Patna University Bill—which we have already spoken about to day—showing that reaction rules rather than reform. Therefore is it all the more necessary that we who believe in educational reform should lift up our voices for a truly national education to be spread throughout the country. (Hear, hear and applause.) To take up other defects look at the constitution of our Indian Educational Service. I would rather call it the European Educational Service there are so few Indians in it. There ought to be a majority of Indians in that service and not a majority of Europeans as at present. Again we all know how young Europeans appointed by an ignorant Secretary of State are sent out to this country to take precedence over those who are far abler and far more experienced than any Europeans could possibly be. We want to abolish that. We do not want a Professor Jadunath Sirkar and a Professor Bose to take a second place to a young European without the slightest Indian experience. Then take the European professor at the present time. In old days the European professor or teacher was far better than he is to-day because it was not so easy to go to England as it is at present. Now a days he can take furlough every year. In those days he could hardly get any furlough so he had to remain here and thus identified himself with the interests of the people. The result was that he was a friend of the people far more than the present professors are the friends of Indians to day.

What we ask of all our teachers is that they should love India above all else and few Europeans can do that. Therefore there must be few Europeans in the Indian Educational Service. (Hear hear and applause.) I would tell you frankly, if the President will not object to my betraying a secret that in proposing the resolution in the Subjects Committee I rather wanted that all the higher administrative posts in the Educational Service should be exclusively occupied by Indians but I was told and was glad to be told that there was no harm in having a few Europeans. That gives me a chance of coming in. (Applause and laughter.) We dismiss then the European professor with the general statement that he is not in touch with the Indian aspirations and therefore he is not fit to teach Indian children. Then look at the times of study. The times of study are now arranged to suit European convenience. After a heavy meal at 9 o'clock in the morning a student has to go to the class because that suits European convenience. It does not suit Indian convenience. It was not so in the early days. We want to restore the ancient system—we do not want European domination—in order that the blood may not have to struggle between the stomach and the head as it has to struggle at present. Then we all know that the curriculum is entirely faulty, the minds of our students are shamefully ill used and ill treated, twisted so that they become tyrants instead of obedient servants. The result is that the mind is becoming the master of the body instead of being its servant as it ought to be. Everywhere the mind takes the first place everything else besides mind takes a second place or no place at all. Where, for example, is patriotism encouraged in Indian schools and colleges as it ought to be especially at a time like this? Patriotism among our young men is far too much treated as synonymous with sedition. There are no seditionists among our young men it appears to me. They are all patriots, and as patriots they should be treated, and as patriots they would be treated if only Indians were in control of Indian education. Where, for example, is the training of India's youth in the defence of the Motherland? We had a resolution on that as you know. What we require is that physical development and proper military training should be given precedence over everything else even over intellectual instruction that comes second as it did in the Code of Manu himself to whom our European masters might very well turn for educational instruction. Let me suggest to you finally that you must look with impatience upon the way in which your young men are repressed at

present Every effort at self expression is repressed in the most short sighted manner In Great Britain young men at present are urged to leave their colleges and go to the battle front to fight for the defence of the Motherland It is not necessary here that Indian youth should do that They are still in the fortunate position of being able to go on with their studies, but they ought to be allowed to take an intelligent, useful, and active share in the growth of their Motherland and—especially at such a time as the present—to work for that freedom which is her birthright I will conclude by paraphrasing a statement of Mr Tilak in proposing a vote of thanks to me when I lectured in Bombay on Home Rule the other day He said 'We do not want argument Home Rule is our birthright' Similarly that is the basis of our claim for national education It is our birthright and we want it' (Applause)

Resolution
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Education

Mr G S
Arundale

The Honble Mr A S Krishna Rao (Madras) — 'Mr President Brother and Sister delegates Ladies and Gentlemen I have very great pleasure in seconding this resolution Mr Arundale in moving the resolution in a manner peculiarly his own has given a graphic picture of the defects in the present educational system and has suggested in unmistakable and unambiguous terms that our goal must be national education as Home Rule or Self Government is It may not be possible to do justice to the various questions of policy embodied in this resolution but may I with your kind permission concentrate my attention upon one or two important aspects of this resolution? First I shall point out that after we passed the Home Rule or Self Government resolution yesterday it is absolutely essential for us to carry out our programme of work to see the expansion of mass education in the highest degree possible If we do not concentrate our attention on the wide diffusion of popular education, we shall not possibly succeed in achieving the long wished for goal in as short a time as possible Need I point out that even after 100 years of British rule even after the famous declarations made in the despatch of 1854 even after the promises contained in the Education Commission Report of 1882 and even after the further declarations of the Government of India satisfactory advance has not been made in the matter of education in this country? We find that even on the 31st December, 1915 out of a total population of 310 millions we had only about 55 millions of scholars in the primary schools and 11 millions in the secondary schools leaving out of account those in colleges—50,000 and odd If we only compare this state of affairs with that prevailing in other countries we at once realize in what unfortunate predicament we still are We are aware that though the Government have accepted their responsibility in the matter of primary education the steps so far taken have not been satisfactory and have been disappointing I remember that it was in the year 1904 when the Congress met at Bombay that a resolution was passed in this august assembly asking for a definite programme of free and compulsory education Since then our countrymen have been making vigorous attempts but after all, with what results? Experience of other countries has shown that unless the system of compulsion is introduced, we cannot make headway in the way in which we wish to make The attempts of the late Mr Gokhale have all proved in vain, but we find that the hopes given on that occasion have not been fulfilled I remember that in the interesting debate which took place in the Imperial Council Sir Harcourt Butler, in replying to Mr Gokhale's observations stated that Mr Gokhale began at the wrong end and that it would be more appropriate if measures of that sort were taken in the local Councils What has been the result? When an attempt was made in the local Legislative Council in Madras for the amendment of the Municipal Act to see that provision was made for free and compulsory education, it was strenuously and stoutly opposed by the local Government and rejected, again in the province of Bombay a similar attempt was made with a similar result Is it not a very disappointing state of affairs? We find official pronouncements made on that occasion that it may be suitably tried in several municipalities I remember Sir Reginald Craddock expressly stated that an attempt could be made in the way of making elementary education free and compulsory, in municipalities We have that official pronouncement given, but the result is certainly

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Krishna Rao

very disappointing. It is therefore essential that we should with all the strength that we command with all the emphasis that we possess urge upon the Government the immediate necessity of taking steps to make education free and compulsory. I do not know if I have time to deal with other subjects.

We all realise that in all the provinces of the country there has not been satisfactory progress in all directions. Rules relating to the enhancement of fees or those relating to grant in aid creating restrictions have jointly worked together with the result that there has been a decrease in secondary schools in several provinces and there has been no sufficient advance in the matter of secondary education. We all realise that there is a difference in grant in aid rules applied to Indian and European schools. Is it not time that we should agitate for the distinction being dropped in the near future? We find there is a conference at work for increasing facilities for the education of the domiciled community. We do not find the same facilities for imparting instruction. So far as secondary schools are concerned according to the present system it is clear that managing authorities must find such income as can be given by the Government and it is not possible for educational authorities to take into consideration any free scholarships or any such allowances for the benefit of poor students. Is it not therefore, clear that those provisions must affect the growth of higher education in the country? Is it possible that poor students can have proper facilities for obtaining instruction in these schools?

Mr President I shall make only one or two remarks about the conscience clause. So far as this question is concerned I believe it has met with the unanimous acceptance of all leaders of Indian opinion that there must be a provision to that effect embodied in the Educational Rules and it is a matter of insult that that provision should not have been incorporated hitherto. At several provincial conferences similar resolutions were passed and when an attempt was made for asking for a provision that resolution was not allowed to be brought up. It was pointed out that it was a question for the Imperial Council to consider. Now it is our duty to agitate that with out further delay provision be made for its insertion.

With these remarks I support the resolution. (Loud applause)

Mr K.
Hanu
manth Rao

Mr K. Hanumantha Rao (Madras) — Mr President and Brother delegates I am indeed grateful to have the permission given to me to follow in the wake of such a distinguished exponent of the Indian educational ideal as Mr. Arundale and to speak upon an aspect of it for which I have given somewhat of my life and energy. It was a great intuition on the part of the leaders of our race when in the early dawn of national consciousness in this country they comprehended the idea of national education as the most essential factor in the building up of the new Indian nationality. Now you remember that in the year 1906 at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress the resolution on Indian national education was deemed and held as one of the most important resolutions of that Congress. The subsequent session of the Congress at Surat and the history of it is somewhat mixed up with the national allegiance which that resolution passed in the Calcutta Congress demanded of the people. There were I know serious apprehensions that this among other resolutions would be dropped or so modified and mutilated as to leave out the heart of it. It is all a matter of history to you how the very apprehensions raised such a rebellion of emotional excitement in the delegates assembled that the Congress itself burst as a shell that could not contain the violent effervescence of feeling. Later history also proves that the heart of that resolution was not properly comprehended by the majority of the Congressmen. The words of the resolution as passed in the Indian National Congress at Calcutta were these —

**That in the opinion of the Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls and organize a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country on national lines and under national control.*

In later years though I confess to the fact of not having been closely in touch with the Congress since then I believe this resolution has been modified and modified until the essential heart idea has been frittered away in a number of fragments which reflect only particular aspects of the educational needs of this country (At this stage the President sounded his gong)

Keso ut o
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Educat o

Mr K
Hanu
manthi Rao,

Now, to day the ideal of Indian national education has come to be identified with the mere spread of technical education in the country I am here to assert that we want national education not simply for the sake of having control of the purse in our hands but to propagate those ideas and to open up those springs of national life and character which would help to build the new Indian nationality of the future It is not enough that we have full control of the merely mechanical and physical administration of our educational institutions It is necessary that the ancient heritage of our soul should be there working in every direction to develop the necessary national passion and character that would avail to build the new Indian nationality Only yesterday we were talking of the new comradeship of spirit between the Hindu and the Mahomedan but this comradeship will not be obtained— The gong was sounded once again)

I close with a personal note The seed of the national education resolution which the Indian National Congress at Calcutta spread all over the country fell not altogether on thorny soil, here and there it sprouted and gave birth to living and flourishing institutions and I am here to place it at the feet of this assembly as the representative of one such institution

(The speaker was not allowed to continue)

Mr Sundar Lal, (Punjab) — Ladies and Gentlemen I come before you not to make a long speech but only in connection with a little word that I suggested in the draft resolution That was in clause (d) in line 3 after the word industrial agriculture may be added I am glad to tell you the mover the seconder and the President have all agreed to it My special reason for adding this word is that agriculture and scientific agriculture is the order of the day Lord Chelmsford in his first speech before the Simla Legislative Council directed the attention of the parents of educated India to induce their children to enter agricultural colleges and equip themselves for agricultural education Even so late as the 22nd instant in his reply to the British Indian Association at Calcutta Lord Chelmsford exhorted the zamindars of Bengal to introduce improved agricultural education That is an important thing The Prime Minister of England has told you that there are two problems before you or before the country,—the man power and the food power The question of man power had already been dealt with and if only there was more confidence in Indians we would supply man power that would simply dwindle the power or capacity of Germany to a very large extent However that is not my subject My subject is food power The problem of food depends not so much upon extensive agriculture as on intensive agriculture We have seen Professor Woolton of the Agricultural College in England has shown why it is that Germany has been able to produce so much simply because of scientific agriculture Out of a hundred acres they can supply food for 75 people whereas in England they can supply only for 45 If such is the comparison between England and Germany what is to be said of India where agriculture is carried on in a primitive style? My point is that if you want to get the greatest benefit from the land in India have scientific agriculture and make your agricultural policy broader Of course the zamindars of Bengal have been exhorted to introduce improved agriculture but what is improved agriculture? Scientific agriculture of course requires brains, capital, and enterprise Now these are not the monopoly of the zamindars of Bengal Others have them in an equal degree (Cries of Time time) Our agricultural colleges should be open to all classes and not restricted to zamindars or any particular class They should be opened to higher classes because as far as higher castes of Hindus are concerned, agriculture is considered a noble profession The very word

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Arya implies ploughman. So there must be no hesitation in the matter of giving agricultural education to higher classes. There should be no restriction but by legislative action all obstruction should be removed.

Mr A. K.
Bose

Mr A. K. Bose (U P) — Mr President, Brother and Sister delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am here to bring to your notice one fact which should I believe be brought to the notice of the Congress. Mr Arundale has told you that ignorant Secretaries of State put absolutely unqualified raw young Europeans on the top of Indians who are really experienced, educated, scholarly in our schools and colleges. I beg to tell you that that principle is allowed to rule wide in these institutions which are indigenous but which perhaps labour under the disadvantage of receiving some aid from the Government. In our own college—and I beg to tell you that I am myself a student of the Canning College which really has been started and carried on with the princely and munificent donations of our barons of Oudh but which receives only a little grant in aid from Government—in this institution you will find the same principle in operation. Such a distinguished professor—a distinguished chemist with whose name I believe many friends in Bengal and all over India and I am sure in Europe and America as well are familiar—has been superseded by an absolutely inexperienced and young person all because he is a European. The distinguished professor I refer to is Mr Kulabhushan Bhaduri, one with whom Sir William Ramsay was proud to associate. I mention these facts in the hope that they may reach the ears of those who have the destinies of the Canning College entrusted to them and that they may remedy the evil. That is all I have to suggest.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

The President next put a series of resolutions from the Chair. He said — Gentlemen, I am sorry I cannot read the resolutions on account of my eye sight. I will call upon Babu Surendranath Banerjee to read them.

The following resolutions were read individually and put to the vote individually and declared carried —

XVIII — India and the Imperial Conference

Resolut on
XVIII —
India and
the Imperial
Conference

With regard to the proposal of the Secretary of State for India inviting two specially elected representatives from India to assist him in the forthcoming Special Conference? to a series of special and continuous sittings of the War Cabinet in order to consider war questions and to prosecute the war vigorously, this Congress urges that at least two representatives of India to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and various Provincial Councils should be allowed to represent India directly and not merely to assist the Secretary of State for India.

XIX — Governor in Council for the U P

Resolut on
XIX —
Governor in
Council for
the U P

- (a) That this Congress while thanking the Government of India for renewing their recommendation to the Secretary of State for the establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces is of opinion that it should be presided over by a Governor chosen from the ranks of public men in England and that half the members of the Council should be Indians.
- (b) This Congress expresses the earnest hope that the introduction of this reform will not be delayed beyond the tenure of office of the present Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces.

XX — High Courts for the Punjab and other Provinces

Resolut on
XX —
High Courts
for the
Punjab and
other
Provinces

That this Congress while thanking the Government of India for their decision to establish a High Court in the Punjab after the war reaffirms its resolution that it is desirable to invest the Chief Court of Burma and the Courts of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh and the Central Provinces with the status and powers of Chartered High Courts and prays that early steps may be taken by the Secretary of State for India for the introduction of this urgent reform.

XXI —The Swadeshi Movement.

That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi Movement and calls upon the people of India to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous Industries by giving preference wherever practicable to Indian products over imported commodities even at a sacrifice.

Resolut on
XXI —
The
Swadesh
Movement

XXII —Deputation to England

That the All India Congress Committee be authorized to arrange that a deputation consisting as far as possible of representatives from the different provinces should proceed to England immediately after the war to press Indian claims as outlined in Resolution XII on the attention of the Government and people of England and to arrange for a special session of the Congress in England if necessary

Resolut on
XXII —
Deputat on
to England

XXIII —Trial by Jury

That in all trials by jury Indians should have the right to claim that not less than half the jurors shall be Indians

Resolut on
XXIII —
Trial by
Jury

XXIV —Indian Students in the United Kingdom

That this Congress totally disapproves of the existence of the Indian Students Department both in Great Britain and India which is a source of constant irritation to the Indian students studying in Great Britain and an unnecessary burden on the Indian taxpayer

Resolut on
XXIV —
Indian Stu
dents in the
United
Kingdom

The President — Just to break the monotony Under Article 15 we have to put before you names of the members of the All India Congress Committee for the next year Mr Subba Rao will read them to you or do you wish to have them taken as read? (Voices of Let us have them read) Then Mr Subba Rao will read the names rapidly (Laughter)

The
Pres dent

Mr Subba Rao accordingly read them

(For names see APPENDIX A)

The President — Now we will resume our process of reading the remaining resolutions which will have to be put from the Chair

These were put and carried as follows —

XXV —The British Congress Committee

That this Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other Members of the British Committee and resolves that the Organization of the British Committee and India should be maintained

Resolut on
XXV —
The Bri sh
Congress
Comm ittee

XXVI —Re-election of General Secretaries

That Mr N. Subbarao and Nawab Syed Mohammed be re-elected Joint General Secretaries for the year 1917

Resolut on
XXVI —
Re-elect on
of Gene al
Secretar es

XXVII —Payment to British Committee

That having regard to the special circumstances of this year's Session the Congress recommends to the All India Congress Committee to consider if and to what extent Article 28 of the Congress Constitution should be relaxed in regard to the payment of delegates' fee to the British Congress Committee.

Resolut on
XXVII
Pay ment to
Bri sh Com
mittee

With reference to the resolution the Honble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said — "This year's Reception Committee had to meet an extraordinary amount of expenditure owing to the large gathering which we have been glad to welcome. If we were to remit the whole amount of the collections we shall not be able to meet our expenditure. The members of the Committee have worked very hard and will have to work harder still to collect the amount. Therefore in this particular year only half the amount collected from the delegates should be remitted. This rule was only introduced

last year so that we shall not have departed from a long established practice and even with the departure we shall be able to remit Rs 12,000, which is four times the minimum amount laid down I hope you will accept it'

The President — 'I call upon the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu to thank the Reception Committee on behalf of you all'

Thanks to the Reception Committee.

The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu — 'In obedience to your mandate which I cannot disregard I am here to discharge what I conceive to be a most difficult task, though it is certainly of a pleasing nature. The difficulties are enhanced by reason of the great reception which the people of Lucknow and of the United Provinces have given to the Congress this year. The difficulties are further enhanced by the great achievement of the Congress on its thirty first session in the city of Lucknow (Hear, hear) I will recall the past to the memories of those who may have been present at the Congress in Lucknow in 1899 I remember that we from Bengal were by the mandate of the Local Government put outside the city of Lucknow on a sugarcane field where we were living with the flies and mosquitoes which unfortunately abound in your beautiful city (Laughter) I will also recall a very painful episode, but nevertheless an episode which we the Congress people believe would soon be a matter of the past, namely, that shortly before the session of the Congress a great meeting of the Mahomedans was held in this city protesting against the holding of the Congress and the ideals which the Congress then ventured to represent. That was the curse of olden times. Since then a great change has come over the spirit of our dreams. Slowly but surely the great Mahomedan community which was at first distrustful of the aims and objects of the Congress, which believed that it might lead, if the aims and objects were given effect to, to the Government and the administration of India being altogether Hinduised and our Mussalman brethren excluded from an effective participation in that administration. From those days a great change has come about and to day Hindus and Mussalmans have joined hands and are working shoulder to shoulder for the furtherance of the great cause with which the Congress began in 1885 (Hear, hear) It is a great, a stupendous and momentous change and the result of it is apparent in the constitution of your Reception Committee, in the composition of that admirable body of young men, the volunteers of the Congress (Applause) I can well imagine that in this the greatest Congress ever held both in numbers and importance, in this the greatest Congress of all the thirty one Congresses hitherto held—I can well imagine the burden of the work which must have fallen upon the shoulders of the Reception Committee. Your Chairman, upon whom has fallen the mantle of our departed friend with all its burden, has discharged that burden to the great satisfaction of all the delegates assembled here. I see before me the energetic Secretary of the Reception Committee sitting as a cripple, but a cripple in a great cause and for a noble purpose. To him we, delegates of the Congress, are under a great obligation. I see also a younger friend of ours on whom the burden sits lightly—my friend the Hon'ble Samuella Beg seated there. To him the Congress owes no small part of its success (Hear, hear) There are others, Babu Bishesharnath who has also laboured early and late to make the Congress the success it has been. And, gentlemen, if you will permit me I shall mention another man, young still in years, who, we expect, will live long to be useful to his country, our young friend a member of the Society of Servants of India, Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru, who, in his unostentatious way, has been one of the heartiest workers in this session of the Congress. I have taken the liberty to mention his name because, if he will forgive me, I had the high honour and privilege of working with his father, the late Pandit Ajodhya Nath (Loud applause) He was our Chairman of the Reception Committee in the Congress which was held in the year 1888 in the city of Allahabad. His great enthusiasm, his earnest personality, his indefatigable labours in the cause of the Congress, his great speech in this historic city of yours before the Congress of 1888 will always live in the memory of those early workers of the Congress who had the honour and privilege of being associated with him. Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru is a worthy son of a great and worthy worker in the cause of the Congress. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The President

Thanks to the Reception Committee —

The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu

Thanks to
the Recep-
tion Com-
mittee —

hero of the Ramayana who took the vow of asceticism for 14 years in order that a great purpose may be achieved Lucknow with its memories of ancient glories Lucknow has given to the country the message of the future Lucknow will always remain enshrined in the memories of all lovers of India

The Hon ble
Babu Bhu-
pendranath
Basu

With these few words I ask you brother and sister delegates to join with me in giving a hearty vote of thanks to the Reception Committee of the Congress at Lucknow and to the volunteers (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The President — I dare say you will carry this resolution with acclamation

The resolution was carried amid acclamation

Three cheers to the Reception Committee and the volunteers were called for and most enthusiastically accorded

The Pres-
ident

The President — I have one announcement to make to you and it is this It is customary with us at the end of each session to announce the place where the next session of the Congress will meet Owing to several differences and difficulties we have not yet been able to come to a decision as yet We have left the work to be done by the All India Congress Committee according to our rules The All India Congress Committee will decide and announce where the Congress will meet next year It meets here at 4.30 this evening At 5.15 there is an evening party at Kaiser bagh to which all parties are invited by Thakur Rajendra Singh on behalf of the Reception Committee The Industrial Conference meets in this very pandal at 12 noon today

Thanks to the President.

Thanks to
the Pres-
ident —

The Hon ble
Pandit M M
Malaviya

In proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the President the Hon ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said — The labours of this great Congress have come to an end It is my pleasing duty and privilege before you disperse to offer on behalf of you all our cordial thanks to our esteemed President for the admirable manner in which he has guided the deliberations of this great assembly When the Congress was invited last year to Lucknow you will remember one of the ideas present in the minds of those who invited it was that it was the cherished wish of our departed friend and brother Ganga Prasad Varma whose picture hangs over us here that the Congress should be held in Lucknow Ever since I came to this city to attend the Congress both sitting in this hall and outside many a time has my thought gone back to him and to our other dear friend Bishen Narayan Dar, who has left us so recently I am sure both Ganga Prasad Varma and Bishen Narayan Dar would have rejoiced as we all rejoice to see this great gathering assembled in the city of Lucknow greater than any of its predecessors to see that the session has been a great success in many ways but no man has contributed more largely to that success than our esteemed President By his unfailing patience by his scrupulous fairness by his desire to give every man an opportunity to speak by his desire to sit late unmindful of his own personal convenience and comfort he has contributed in a very considerable measure to the success of our session If the proceedings of the Congress have not been ruffled by many a thorny question being discussed here it is not because there was no such discussion but because that discussion took place late enough and long enough in the Subjects Committee and it is there that the patience the inexhaustible patience of our esteemed friend the President was most conspicuous and it is there that he gave an opportunity without any distinction to the junior as well as the senior to express his point of view The success which we have achieved is largely due to him and so our heartiest thanks are due to him for it I should not like to detain you long with recounting the services rendered by our President which Babu Surendranath Banerjee has already done for if I once embark upon that work I would have to detain you long I had the privilege of joining the Congress in the same year in which my distinguished friend joined it in 1886 when our revered leader India's Grand Old Man Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the Congress but the thought of that Congress takes me back through all the years which we have passed since we began our endeavours to uplift our country It takes us back to all the aspects of the question one

of which which affects the relations of the communities and the peoples of India amongst themselves has already been referred to by my friend Babu Surendranath Banerjee

Thanks to
the Presi-
dent.—

There is another aspect which is the cardinal aspect and that is the changes that have come over our programme When we started in 1885 we reposed great trust and confidence in those to whom Providence has entrusted the guidance of the affairs of India. For the time we began with appealing with praying with begging with entreating Resolution after resolution has been passed during the last 30 years it is a written record which nobody can destroy or remove, it is a record showing the patience the confidence the people of India had in the administrators of India their willingness to proceed by gradual steps almost painfully slow steps towards evolving a better system of administration The record of these 30 long years tells us how we have asked not once not twice but repeatedly during these so many years It is now after an experience of 30 years that the conviction has sunk into our hearts that those to whom Providence has entrusted the administration of the affairs of India the members of the Indian Civil Service as well as the members of the British Parliament have failed and sadly failed to respond to the call of reason and justice I am sorry to say it I should have rejoiced if I could say in gratitude that they had made a response worthy of the members of the great British nation There has been some response in some small matters and for that we do feel grateful but the response in all the most important matters has either been wanting or has been sadly slow The result of this is that the conviction has come to us that unless we ourselves have a potent and determining voice in the administration of our country's affairs there is not much hope for that progress which it is the birthright of every civilized people to achieve

The Hon ble
Pandit M M
Malaviya.

We have on our record a repetition of resolutions asking for such simple justice as the separation of judicial and executive functions we have on our record the cry repeated year after year to be given some education we have on our record the fact that while we have prayed that primary education should be made compulsory and universal the provision that has been made for it up to this time is extremely disappointing and unsatisfactory We have on our record that even with the enlarged Councils when our dear brother Gokhale did make an attempt by introducing a Bill into the Council to make provision for the permissive introduction of compulsory education that effort was baffled by the solid official majority which sits in the Council to do no other work than simply to vote against resolutions moved by popular representatives On the other hand what has happened to bring home the conviction to us? We know in Russia there was no self-government until a few years ago but after being beaten by Japan Russia learnt wisdom and roused herself into consciousness of what the conditions of modern civilization required The first Duma that met I think in 1903 resolved being conscious that primary universal education was one of the potent causes of building up a people upon making education universal and compulsory It introduced a programme of 19 years during which period it decided that elementary education shall become universal and in the year 1916 nearly three-fourths of that programme has been carried out and by 1922 the Russians will have provided elementary education to all children of school going age

That was the result of power being transferred from a sovereign authority or from a bureaucracy to those who know where the shoe pinches who feel the need and the effect of unhappy conditions and who understand how their interest can be best promoted I have given to you that one illustration among many already given to you yesterday, as showing the urgent the pressing need of having self government for the people in order that they may administer their own affairs Let nobody accuse educated Indians of having put forward a proposal of reform in a light hearted manner That reform so far as the Government is concerned is supported by the entire people though there may be some small differences as unfortunately there are with regard to some lesser details but so far as Government is concerned for the transferring of the power from the Government to the people themselves this is a united demand (applause) on behalf of India and is made in no light hearted fashion. This conviction is born after

Thanks to
the Presi-
dent —

The Hon ble
Pandit M M
Malaviya

30 years of self sacrificing labours in the country's cause, after having held 31 sessions of the Congress in various parts of the country, which involved no small expenditure of time and money and comfort, this conviction is born after the question had been weighed in all possible aspects. The conclusion is forced on our mind that those who have the power are unwilling to part with that power, that those who have the power are unwilling to give the time and the attention to the consideration of our affairs as the members of the British Parliament are and that conviction once arrived at is not likely to be shaken or departed from.

The reforms which you have put forward do not represent the maximum that you desire. They represent the minimum that is necessary. Let there be no misunderstanding about it. There are some very kindly friends who caution us and wish us to proceed slowly. We have proceeded cautiously and slowly for 30 years. It does not lie in the mouth of any member of the Indian Civil Service—there are some very generous hearted men among them—or any member of the British Parliament to say that Indians are asking for an unreasonably large measure of reform to day, or that they want to take a long jump. We do not want to take a long jump. There are certain conditions which determine what is necessary and what is not. It is the right of every people to govern themselves. No government can be so good as the government of a people by their own people. That being accepted in England, that being accepted for the greater part of the civilized world, with what reason or justification can it be advanced here that we should be content to let our affairs be administered by a few men, who without any previous training, without any knowledge of our traditions of our history, come to this country to enjoy a good salary and to spend a good period of their time in the sunny climate of our land? How can we expect they will be able to administer our affairs in the way in which we can? Objections have been urged but they have been refuted one by one. I do not want to detain you by recapitulating them.

I wish and hope and pray that we shall realize fully the importance of the measures that we have put forward to day, and that we shall be prepared to work to bring about their accomplishment. I hope that we shall not be content with expressing our gratitude to our President and expressing satisfaction at the result of this Congress, but that we shall go out of the Congress determined as honest, honourable manly men to carry out the duty of promoting these reforms. For remember, there is no greater duty cast upon us than to see that these reforms are carried out and granted at an early date. Remember, it is not a question of personal character with any one of us. We see millions of our countrymen suffering from the evil effects of the administration lacking in one direction or another to come up to the standard of their requirements. We see that those who have the power have failed to do it, and what is more regrettable, do not show any willingness to respond to our call. I will draw your attention to one other matter only. There is the question of the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Army. You have proved by the blood your people have shed on the battlefield that you are not inferior to any other community or nationality on the face of the earth in bravery, in devotion, yet the ranks of the Army have not been opened to our people. So also with regard to the Indian Civil Service. A Commission was appointed, a report has been made and it was presented to the Government. It seems to be so ugly a production that the Government have hesitated so long to put it before the public. Now, when that is the state of affairs you cannot hope to bring about healthy, necessary reforms unless you get power into your own hands. That is the conviction borne in upon us by these 30 years of labour, and I hope you will do all that is necessary to carry this conviction into effect. When you do this this great gathering of the Congress will be remembered always as the one Congress where this decision was arrived at and you will always associate in your mind with the success of the Congress the arduous, the strenuous, the patient labours of our esteemed President who has guided our deliberations for these four days. On your behalf and on behalf of us all I propose a most hearty vote of thanks to our President.

The Hon'ble Mirza Samiulla Beg, in seconding the vote of thanks, said —

Thanks to
the Presi-
dent.—

The Hon'ble
Mirza Sami-
ulla Beg

"I do, not stand here to make any speech on any particular resolution. I simply stand here to give expression to the feelings which are to be found in each and every one of us, in every member of the Reception Committee, in every one of the Secretaries who have tried in this grand cause of the National Congress; I simply stand to give expression to those feelings of thankfulness which we owe to you and which we owe mainly to the President of the National Congress Gentlemen, when we invited the Congress to Lucknow we were labouring under very extraordinary circumstances. At that time the chief worker amongst us, the chief man who it was expected would be able to carry on the managing work of the Congress, had passed away from us, namely, Babu Ganga Prasad Varma. A few professional men who were busy in their own profession thought it proper to take the burden of this work upon themselves—a work which in their own mind they were feeling they would not be able to fulfil and carry out properly. However, under all these circumstances we invited the Congress to this place. Then, gentlemen, after two or three months we came to know that the difficulties before us were of a much more serious character. There were gentlemen here in Lucknow, in this Province, who wanted in this particular matter of Home Rule a declaration of a particular character. Then after a few months we came to know that the matter did not end there, that there was the question of the proportion between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in connection with the Reform Schemes which made the matter still more difficult and serious, then after a short time we came to know that this session of the Congress might result in certain disturbances because it was suggested to us by officials and by our moderate friends that inasmuch as we were trying to bring together moderates and nationalists in Lucknow, we should take the whole responsibility upon ourselves. We in our own humble way took the responsibility of that also. Under these circumstances we invited the Congress to this place. Now, as far as the work of managing the affairs of the Congress is concerned, I can only say that we have not been able to perform our duty, and have not been able to make satisfactory arrangements for your comforts. We have been lacking in that, but, I believe, so far as the other two things are concerned, namely, the declaration of the policy of Home Rule, and the question of the solution of the problem of Hindu and Mahomedan representation, we required a cool and calm man who has been in the Congress for a long time, a man who would be able to guide the deliberations of our Council, consisting not only of the moderates but of the nationalists also; and now, representing the Reception Committee, and also on behalf of the people of this Province, I say that you, Mr. President, have performed both these duties in a manner which has satisfied each and every party. Now, on behalf of the Mussalmans and on behalf of the Hindus of this Province, as far as the solution of the Hindu-Mahomedan question is concerned, I can say that in this week of the year 1916 you have written a chapter in the history of India. I can safely say that this week has been the turning point in the history of India. During the last 30 or 31 years we have been holding the Congress in different parts of the country. I cannot imagine that more delicate and more important questions have ever come for solution before the Congress, and it was, after all, on the decision of this particular question that the smooth working of the Congress in future depended. Those alone who have been in touch with this question, those alone who were in the Subjects Committee who followed the discussion of this particular point during the last four or five days, can realize how at times it became disheartening, how the matter seemed to culminate in breaking point, and how sagaciously and how prudently and how tactfully, coolly and calmly our President applied his mind and tried to steer clear of all the difficulties and all the dangers which confronted us in this particular matter. I thank you, Mr. President, most heartily on behalf of the Reception Committee, on behalf of Lucknow and on behalf of the whole Province."

The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, then put the resolution of the vote of thanks to the Congress which carried it amid

scenes of great enthusiasm, the audience rising to its feet and giving three hearty cheers for the President

President's Concluding Speech

1 President's
Conclud-
ing Speech

The President in acknowledging the vote said —

Brother delegates Ladies and Gentlemen It was Socrates who said 'Call no man happy until he is dead I would say, Congratulate no public man until his function is discharged In my opening address I asked for a reasonable measure of your support and indulgence You have given me both in superabundance, surpassing even my most sanguine expectations The great success which has attended the labours of the 31st Indian National Congress will no doubt soon become a matter of official record but you will remember to what that success was really due As the official head of this Congress I bear ungrudging testimony to the irrefragable fact that it is the patriotism enthusiasm and earnestness no less than firmness and sobriety of the delegates that have achieved such brilliant results There is a universally growing national consciousness which has awakened India from her slumber of ages and which has inspired its people with full appreciation of their power and strength The scattered units of the nation have coalesced and come together to assert and demand their natural rights to accept their responsibilities as free citizens of the British Empire To the Reception Committee you all in general and myself in particular are deeply indebted for the princely hospitality and very kind attention which they have so lavishly extended to us during the five days of our stay at Lucknow At the outset I deeply deplored the deaths of Ganga Prasad Varma and Bishan Narayan Dar, two of our bravest comrades in this national struggle but to day I rejoice to find that Lucknow has rapidly filled up their places by presenting to us such men as Pandits Jagat Narayan and Gokarannath Misra whose devotion to duty indomitable courage and self sacrifice are an object lesson which other provinces would do well to emulate To the volunteers I offer no thanks, for thanks would be very poor return for the services they have rendered I regard them in the light of recruits who are training themselves for future services to the Motherland They will form fresh units when the call for active service comes to them I bless them one and all with all the warmth and fervour that I possess in my old age.

We have finished the deliberations of the 31st Indian National Congress but our labours are not yet closed In fact our work does not end but only begins this day It is now our duty to carry the mandate of this Congress and give effect to its deliberations throughout the country Go forth to the country, penetrate into villages where the nation lives and preach to them the gospel of salvation and carry to them the messages of hope and confidence which you have received from this Parliament of the people We do not simply press for our rights and liberties but are ready and anxious to bear our responsibilities At the present moment the Empire is in urgent need of man power to bring the war to a successful and glorious issue I would ask you all who are of military age to enlist yourselves in the Army and participate in this glorious part In Bengal the Ambulance Corps first set the ball rolling and officer after officer has borne testimony to the splendid services which they have rendered under circumstances of no ordinary difficulties It has given birth to a Bengali regiment, whose deeds I am sure will soon fill the hearts of Bengal and of all India with just pride and gratification I call upon every province every community and every race to come forward to take their proper share in this titanic struggle so that all may claim a share in its glorious achievement' (Loud applause)

The Congress then dissolved amid scenes of enthusiasm

APPENDIX A,

MEMBERS OF THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

To hold office from 30th December, 1916, till the appointment of a new Committee at the next Congress to be held at Calcutta in December, 1917

PRESIDENT (EX OFFICIO) —

The Hon'ble Babu Ambika Charan Mozumdar, M.A., B.L., President, 31st Indian National Congress Lucknow

GENERAL SECRETARIES (EX OFFICIO)

- 1 The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahommed Sabeb Bahadur,
 - 2 Mr N Subba Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.,
- General Secretaries of the Congress.

BENGAL.

EX-OFFICIO —

- 1 Babu Surendranath Banerjee, 126, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta
- 2 Dr Sir Rashbehary Ghose, M.T., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., D.L., 33 Judge's Court Road, Alipur, Calcutta
- 3 The Hon'ble Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu M.A., B.L., 6 Old Post Office Street, Calcutta
- 4 The Hon'ble Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, M.T., 14 Elysium Row, Calcutta
- 5 The Hon'ble Babu Ambika Charan Mozumdar M.A., B.L., Faridpur

ELECTED —

- 1 Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur, B.L., Khagra Murshidabad
- 2 Babu Moti Lal Ghosh 2 Ananda Chatterji Street, Bag Bazar, Calcutta
- 3 Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, B.A., 6 College Square, Calcutta.
- 4 Babu Basanta Kumar Bose, M.A., B.L., 32/2, Pansanpara Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta
- 5 Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra, M.A. 65 Harrison Road, Calcutta.
- 6 The Hon'ble Mr A Rasul, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon) 14 Royd Street, Calcutta
- 7 Mr J Chaudhri, M.A. (Oxon), M.A. (Cal), Bar at law, 3, Hastings Street, Calcutta
- 8 The Hon'ble Dr Nilratan Sircar, M.A. M.O., 61, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
- 9 Babu Prithwish Chandra Ray, 39 Creek Row, Calcutta
- 10 Rai Yatindra Nath Chaudhri M.A., Kutughat, Barnagore 24 Parganas.
- 11 Babu Surendra Nath Mullick, M.A., B.L., 2 Chandra Nath Chatterji's Street Bhawanipur, Calcutta.
- 12 The Hon'ble Mr Provas Chandra Mitra M.A., B.L., 34/1, Lligin Road, Calcutta
- 13 Mr S R Dass Bar at law, 8, Moura Road Calcutta
- 14 Babu Narendra Kumar Bose, M.A., B.L., 12, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta
- 15 Babu Lalit Mohan Dass M.A., 82/1 Harrison Road, Calcutta.
- 16 Mr I B Sen, M.A., B.L., 57/1, Harish Mukerji Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta
- 17 Babu Satish Chandra Chatterji, M.A., 75, Bechu Chatterji Street, Calcutta
- 18 Dr Pramatha Nath Banerjee M.A. (Calcutta), D.Sc. (London), 267, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
19. Babu Bejoy Krishna Bose, 28, Hazra Lane Kalighat, Calcutta.
- 20 Babu Satyananda Bose 78, Dharrumola Street, Calcutta.

BOMBAY.

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 Dr Dadabhai Naoroji, LL.D., Versova, Bombay
- 2 Sir N G Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B., Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay

- 3 The Hon'ble Sir D E Wacha, Jiji House, Ravelin Street, Fort, Bombay

ELECTED —

- 1 The Hon'ble Mr. M A Jinnab, Bar at law, 18, Marine Lines, Bombay
- 2 The Hon'ble Mr G M Bhurgri, Bar at law, Hyderabad (Sind)
- 3 The Hon'ble Mr G K Parekh B A, LL B, New Queen's Road, Bombay
- 4 Mr M K Gandhi, Ahmedabad
- 5 Mr Abbas S Tyabji Bar at law, Camp Baroda
- 6 The Hon'ble Mr Harchandrai Vishindas, B A, LL B, Karachi (Sind)
- 7 Mr N M Samarth, B A, LL B, Girgaon, Bombay
- 8 The Hon'ble Mr C H Setalvad, B A LL B, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay
- 9 Mr B G Tilak, B A, LL B, Poona
- 10 Professor V G Kale M A, Fergusson College, Poona
- 11 Mr G K Devadhar M A, Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay
- 12 Mr N V Gokhale, B A LL B, 695 697, Girgaon, Bombay
- 13 The Hon'ble Mr D V Belvi, B A, LL B, Belgaum
- 14 Mr Hormusji A Wadya, Bar at law, 118, Marine Lines, Bombay
- 15 The Hon'ble Mr R P Paranjpye, M A, B Sc, Fergusson College, Poona

MADRAS

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammad Saheb Bahadur, "Humayun Manzil", Royapettah Madras
- 2 Mr N Subba Rao Pantulu, B A, B L, Rajahmundry

ELECTED —

- 1 Dewan Bahadur L A Govindaraghava Iyer, B A, B L, "Palm Grove", Mylapore
- 2 The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B N Sarma B A, B L, Mylapore
- 3 The Hon'ble Mr A S Krishna Rao, B A, B L, Vakul, High Court, Nellore
- 4 The Hon'ble Mr V S Srinivasa Sastri, B A, B L, 17, Sadoji Lane, Triplicane, Madras
- 5 The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M Ramachandra Rao, B A, B L, Ellore, Madras
- 6 Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyar, B A, B L, 'The Grove', Teynampet, Madras
- 7 Mr G A Natesan Editor, the 'Indian Review', 60 Thambu Chetti Street, Madras
- 8 Mr T V Mathu Krishna Aiyer, B A, B L, Vepery, Madras
- 9 Mrs Annie Besant 1st M B B Sc, (London) Adyar, Madras
- 10 The Hon'ble Mr K Rama Aiyangar, Madras
- 11 Mr K N Aiyar, B A, B L, Vakul, High Court, Madras
- 12 Mr A P Patro, High Court Vakul Berhampore, Ganjam district
- 13 Rao Bahadur S V Narasimha Rao, Kurnool
- 14 Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya Masulipatam
- 15 Mr A Rangaswami Iyengar, B A B L, Madras

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 The Hon'ble Pandit Madaq Mohan Malaviya, B A, LL B, Allahabad

ELECTED —

- 1 The Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nebru, Advocate, 'Anand Bhawan', Allahabad
- 2 The Hon'ble Dr Tej Babadur Sapru, M A, LL D, Advocate, 19 Albert Road, Allahabad
- 3 The Hon'ble Mr C Y Chintamani, 14 A South Road Allahabad
- 4 The Hon'ble Mr Narayan Prasad Asthana, M A, LL B, Advocate, Allahabad

- 5 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra M.A. LL.B Advocate 7 Neil Road Lucknow
- 6 The Hon ble Mirza Sami ullah Beg B.A LL.B Advocate Gola Ganj Lucknow
- 7 Mr Durga Charan Banerji B.A B.L Advocate Allahabad
- 8 Munshi Iswar Saran B.A Vakil High Court 6 Elgin Road Allahabad
- 9 Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru B.A B.Sc Servants of India Society 6 Bank Road Allahabad
- 10 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan Bar at law Gola Ganj Lucknow
- 11 Babu Vikramajit Singh B.A LL.B Vakil High Court 117 Civil Lines Cawnpore
- 12 Rai Krishna Ji, Rais Benares
- 13 Mr Preo Nath Banerji M.A. LL.B Advocate Edmonstone Road Allahabad
- 14 Mr B Sanjiva Rao M.A (Cantab) Principal Kayastha Pathsbala Allahabad
- 15 Dr D R Ranjit Singh Allahabad

BEHAR AND ORISSA

ELECTED —

- 1 Mr Sachchidananda Sinha Bar at law Bankipore
- 2 Mr Mazhar ul Haque Bar at law Bankipore.
- 3 The Hon ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahai Vakil Bankipore
- 4 The Hon ble Mr Madhusudan Das C. I E Cuttack
- 5 The Hon ble Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath Vakil Muzaffarpore
- 6 The Hon ble Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narain Sinha Vakil Bankipore
- 7 The Hon ble Mr Shyam Krishna Sahay Bar at law Ranchi
- 8 B Braj Kishore Prasad M.A B.L Vakil Laheria Serai
- 9 Khan Babadur Sarfraz Hussain Khan Khaja Kalan Patna City
- 10 Mr Deep Narain Singh Bar at law Bhagalpore
- 11 Babu Nand Kishore Lal M.A B.L Vakil Gaya
- 12 Mr Hasan Imam Bar at law Bankipore
- 13 Mr Parmeshwar Lal Bar at Law Bankipore
- 14 Babu Rajendra Prasad M.A M.L. Vakil Bankipore.
- 15 Pandit Ambica Prasad Upadhyaya M.A B.L Vakil Bankipore

PUNJAB

ELECTED —

- 1 Mr Harkishan Lal Bar at law Lahore
- 2 Pandit Ram Bhaj Datta Chowdhari B.A Pleader Chief Court Lahore
- 3 Mr Dhanpat Rai B.A Pleader Chief Court Lahore
- 4 Mr Duni Chand Bar at law Lahore
- 5 Mehta Bahadur Chand Pleader Chief Court Lahore
- 6 Mr Dharam Chand Pleader Chief Court Lahore
- 7 Mr Fakir Chand Pleader Chief Court Hoshiarpore
- 8 Mr Nanak Chand Bar at law Lahore
- 9 Mr Gopal lyengar Editor the "Tribune" Lahore
- 10 Mr Brij Lal Puri Pleader Chief Court Sargoda
- 11 Sheikh Umar Bakhsb Pleader Chief Court Lahore
- 12 Mr Todar Mull Bhandari Bar at law Amritsar
- 13 Mahik Girdhari Lal Managing Director the Punjab Cotton Press Ltd., Lahore.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

ELECTED —

- 1 The Hon ble Sir B K Bose Kt Nagpur
- 2 The Hon ble Rao Bahadur Bisun Datt Shukul B.A Taluqdar Sehora (Jubbulpore district)

- 3 Dr H S Gour M A D C L LL D Bar at law Nagpur
- 4 Rao Bahadur V R Pandit M A (Cantab) Bar at law Nagpur
- 5 Rai Sahib Dr Laxmi Narayan M R A S F R S A (Kamptee)
- 6 Mr V M Jakatdar B A B L Bhandara
- 7 Mr N A David M A *Servants of India Society Nagpur*

BERAR

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 The Hon ble Rao Bahadur R N Mudholkar C I E B A, LL B Amraoti

ELECTED —

- 1 Rao Bahadur R G Mundle B A LL B Yeotmal (Berar)
- 2 Rao Sahib R V Mahajan B A LL B Akola Berar
- 3 Mr G S Khaparde B A LL B Pleader Amraoti
- 4 The Hon ble Mr M V Joshi B A LL B Amraoti
- 5 Mr S V Gokhale B A LL B Pleader Amraoti

BURMA

ELECTED —

- 1 Dr P J Mehta M D Bar at law Rangoon
- 2 Mr J N Basu Bar at law Mandalay

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

ARTICLE XIII

The All India Congress Committee shall as far as possible be constituted as hereinafter laid down —

15	Representatives of Madras
15	Bombay
20	Bengal
15	United Provinces
13	Punjab (including W F P)
7	Central Provinces
15	Behar and Orissa
5	Berar
2	Burma

provided as far as possible that one fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mahomedans

All Ex Presidents of the Congress residing or present in India and the General Secretaries of the Congress who shall also be ex officio General Secretaries of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex officio members in addition

Total Number of Members of the All India Congress Committee

No	Name of Province	Ex officio vide Article XIII of the Constitution	Elected	Total
1	Bengal (including Assam)	4	20	24
2	Bombay	3	15	18
3	Madras	2	15	17
4	U P of Agra and Oudh	2	15	17
5	Behar and Orissa	Nil	15	15
6	Punjab	Nil	13	13
7	Central Provinces	Nil	7	7
8	Berar	1	5	6
9	Burma	Nil	2	2
Total of all the Provinces		12	107	119

APPENDIX B,

MEMBERS OF THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE OF THE 31ST INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1916, LUCKNOW.*President* — The Hon ble Babu Ambika Charan Mozumdar, M A, B L.

MADRAS

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 The Hon ble Nawab Syed Mahommad Sahab Bahadur
- 2 Mr N Subba Roo Pantulu
- 3 Mrs Annie Besant
- 4 Dewan Bahadur L A Govindaraghava Aiyar
- 5 The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B N Sarma
- 6 The Hon ble Rao Bahadur M Ramachandra Rao
- 7 Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyar
- 8 The Hon ble Mr V S Srinivasa Sastry
- 9 Mr G A Natesan
- 10 Mr T V Mathu Krishna Aiyar
- 11 The Hon ble Mr A S Krishna Rao
- 12 Mr K N Aiyar
- 13 Mr A P Patro

ELECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Mr S Kasturiranga Aiyangar
- 2 Mr G S Arundale
- 3 Mr K P Kesava Menon
- 4 Mr F G Natesan
- 5 Mr A Rangaswami Aiyangar
- 6 Mr M K Acharya
- 7 Mr Sadhu Ganpathi Pantulu
- 8 Mr S R Rangaswami Aiyangar
- 9 Dr T S S Rajan
- 10 Mr T Sivasankaram
- 11 Mr. T K Sivarama Aiyer
- 12 The Hon ble Meer Asad Ali Khan Bahadur
- 13 Mr R. Giri Rao
- 14 The Hon ble Mr K. R. V Krishna Rao
- 15 The Hon ble Mr B Venkatapathi Razu

BOMBAY

EX OFFICIO —

1. The Hon ble Mr G K Parekh
- 2 The Hon ble Mr C. H. Setalvad
- 3 The Hon ble Mr Harchandrai Vishandas
- 4 The Hon'ble Mr G M Bhurgri
- 5 The Hon ble Mr M A Jinnah
- 6 Professor V G Kale
- 7 Mr N V Gokhale,
- 8 Mr N M Samarth
- 9 Mr A S Tyabji
- 10 Mr Mathuradas Ramchand Javahri
- 11 Mr Thakarram Kapilram
- 12 Mr Hari Narayan Apte
- 13 Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahapatram

LECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Mr Durgadas B Advani
- 2 Mr Jamshed N R Mehta
- 3 Mr Joseph Baptista.
- 4 Mr Jamnadas D Dharams
- 5 The Hon ble Mr V J Patel,
- 6 Mr Jivanlal V Desai
- 7 Mr M K Gandhi
- 8 The Hon ble Mr D V Belsi
- 9 Mr Shrinivasroo Kanjaljee
- 10 Mr Gangadhar Rao Deshpande
- 11 Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak
- 12 The Hon ble Mr Manmohan Das Ramji
- 13 Mr N C Kelkar
- 14 Rao Bahadur G K Chitale
- 15 Mr R P Karandkar

BENGAL.

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 Mr Surendranath Banerjee.
- 2 Sri Rashbehary Ghose
- 3 Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu
- 4 Dr Nilratan Sengupta
- 5 Mr A Rasul
- 6 Mr J Chaudhuri
- 7 Mr Ramani Mohan Das
- 8 Mr Krishna Kumar Mitra
- 9 Mr Prithwis Chandra Roy.
- 10 Mr Basanta Kumar Bose
- 11 Dr Pramatha Nath Banerjee
- 12 Mr Satish Chandra Chattopj
- 13 Mr Lalit Mohan Das.
- 14 Mr Pravash Chandra Mitra.
- 15 Mr Surendra Nath Mullick.
- 16 Mr Satyananda Bose
- 17 Mr Krishnadas Ray
- 18 Mr Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri
- 19 Mr G I Dev
- 20 Mr I B Sen
- 21 Mr H K Lahiri
- 22 Rai Yatendra Nath Chaudhuri
- 23 Mr D C Ghosh

LECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Mr Hirendra Nath Dutta
- 2 Mr Upendra Nath Basu
- 3 Mr R C Chatterj
- 4 Mr Manmohan Neogi.
- 5 Mr Rajani Kanta De
- 6 Mr Kamal Kumar Chanda.
- 7 Mr Lurra Chandra Mitra
- 8 Mr Bepjy Krishna Bose.
- 9 Mr Indra Bhushan Bhattacharya
- 10 Mr G nja Mohan Sanjail.
- 11 Mr Nanda Gopal Bhaduri.

- 13 Mr Narendra Nath Sen
- 14 Mr Hari Nath Ghosh
- 15 Mr Sirish Chandra Chatterji
- 16 Mr Priya Nath Sen
- 17 Mr Abdul Kassim
- 18 Mr Romesh Chandra Sen
- 19 Mr Bepin Chandra Pal
- 20 Mr H K Ghosh

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Allahabad
- 2 The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan, Chairman, Reception Committee, Lucknow
- 3 The Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Allahabad
- 4 The Hon'ble Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru, "
- 5 The Hon'ble Mr C Y Chintamani, "
- 6 The Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Secretary, Reception Committee, Lucknow.
- 7 The Hon'ble Mirza Sami ullah Beg, Secretary, Reception Committee, Lucknow
- 8 Babu Bisheswar Nath Srivastav, Secretary, Reception Committee, Lucknow.
- 9 Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon, Lucknow.
- 10 Babu Rama Pat Ram, ,
- 11 Dr Nazir Uddin Hasan, "
- 12 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra, ,
- 13 Pandit Kishan Prasad Kaul "
- 14 Mr A P Sen "
- 15 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan "
- 16 Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Allahabad
- 17 Rai Krishnaji Saheb, Benares

ELECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Benares
- 2 Professor Sanjiva Rao, Allahabad
- 3 Pandit Yankatesh Narain Tiwary, Allahabad
- 4 The Hon'ble Munshi Narain Prasad Asthana, Allahabad
- 5 Professor P K Telang, Benares
- 6 Pandit Krishna Kanta Malaviya, Allahabad
- 7 Mr Ajodhya Das, Gorakhpur
- 8 Mr N G Paranjpye, Cawnpore
- 9 Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Fyzabad
- 10 Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, Benares
- 11 Babu Narain Prasad Nigam, Cawnpore
- 12 Dr D R Ranjit Singh, Allahabad
- 13 Rai Brij Narain Gurtu, Allahabad
- 14 Mr C S Ranga Iyer, Lucknow
- 15 Babu Bhagavan Das, Benares
- 16 Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Allahabad
- 17 Babu Ram Chandra, Lucknow
- 18 Pandit Kailash Nath Kumar, Agra.
- 19 Professor Sri Prakasha Benares
- 20 Pandit Sham Nath Mushran, Allahabad
- 21 Miss Arundale, Benares
- 22 The Hon'ble Pandit Radha Kishan Das, Moradabad.

- 23 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru Lucknow
- 24 Pandit Jagmohan Nath Chak, Lucknow
- 25 Pandit Devi Prasad Shukla Cawnpore

PUNJAB

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 Mr Harkishan Lal Bar at Law, Lahore.
- 2 Pt Ram Bhaj Dutta Chowdhri, Pleader, Lahore
- 3 Lala Dhanpat Rai, Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore
- 4 Mr Duni Chand, Bar-at Law, Lahoré
- 5 Mr Nanak Chand „
- *6 Mehta Bahadur Chand, Pleader, Chief Court Lahore
- 7 Mr Dharam Chand, „ „ „ „
- 8 Mr Fakir Chand, „ „ „ „ Hoshiarpur
- *9. Mr Brij Lal Puri, Pleader, Sargoda.
- 10 Sheikh Umar Bux, „ Lahore
- 11 Mr Gopal Iyengar Editor, the Tribune, Lahore
- 12 Mr Todar Mal Bhandari, Bar at Law, Amritsar
- *13 Malik Girdhari Lal Managing Director, the Punjab Cotton Press, Ltd., Lahore

ELECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 The Hon ble Raizada Bhagat Ram, Bar-at Law, Jullundhur
- 2 Mr Durga Pershad Nayar, Pleader, Chief Court, Ferozepur
- 3 Dr Nihal Chand, L. & S., Lahore
- 4 Lala Karam Chand Vidyarthi, Manager, The Bharat Insurance Co, Ltd., Lahore.
- 5 Mr Ghulam Yasin, Bar at Law, Amritsar.
- 6 Dr Salf uddin Kitchlu, „ Amritsar
- 7 Lala Devi Dayal Pleader, Kasur
- 8 Mr S K. Lahiri Editor, the ' Punjabee ', Lahore
- 9 B Churanji Lal Sethi, Merchant, Lahore.
- 10 B Dwarka Dass Kapur, Amritsar
- 11 Lala Govardhan Dass, Lahore
- 12 Mr Ata Mohammed Jan, Bar at Law, Rawalpindi
- 13 Mr Ghulam Mohyuddin, Pleader, Kasur

CENTRAL PROVINCES

EX-OFFICIO —

- 1 Rai Sahib Dr Laxmi Narayan, Kamptee
- 2 Mr N A Dravid Nagpur.
- 3 Mr C. M Thacker Raipur.

ELECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Rao Bahadur K. K. Thakur, M A, B. L., Retired Sessions Judge.
- 2 Mr Nilkanth Rao Pleader.
- 3 Mr N R Alekar, B A, B. L.
- 4 Dr B S Moonjee, L. M. S. Nagpur
- 5 Mr E. Row, Bar at law
- 6 Mr S K Vaishampayan B. A., LL.B.
- 7 Mr B R. Deshmukh B A, B. L.

BEHAR

EX-OFFICIO —

- 1 Mr. Mazhar ul Haque.
- 2 Mr Sachchidanand Sinha.
- 3 Mr Hasan Imam.
4. Babu Nand Kishore Lal.

- 5 Mr Parmeshwar Lal
- 6 Babu Braja Kishore Prasad
- 7 The Hon ble Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath
- 8 The Hon ble Babu Bishun Prasad
- 9 Mr Chandra Bansi Sahai
- 10 Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan
- 11 The Hon ble Rai Bahadur P N Sinha

ELECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Mr Deep Narayan Singh
- 2 Babu Rashbihary Mandal
- 3 Babu Arikshan Sinha
- 4 Babu Ganga Bishun
- 5 Babu Gaya Prasad
- 6 Babu Rajendra Prasad
- 7 Pandit Bhubaneswar Misra
- 8 Babu Gorakh Prasad
- 9 Babu Kuar Nandan Sahay
- 10 Babu Ajodhya Prasad
- 11 Mr R N Roy
- 12 Mr A P Upadhyaya
- 13 Babu Chandradeo Narayan
- 14 Babu Bardya Nath Narayan Sinha
- 15 The Hon ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahai

BERAR

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 The Hon ble Rao Bahadur R N Mudholkar C I E Amraoti
- 2 Rao Bahadur R G Mundle B A LL B Yeotmal
- 3 Rao Sahib R V Mahajan B A LL B Akola

ELECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Mr G S Khaparde B A B L Amraoti
- 2 Mr K H Jatkar B A LL B
- 3 Mr W L Chiplunkar
- 4 Mr M S Aney B A LL B
- 5 Mr S V GoKhale B A LL B

BURMA

EX OFFICIO —

- 1 Dr P J Mehta M D Bar at law

ELECTED BY DELEGATES —

- 1 Mr J C Bilemoria B A Bar at law Rangoon
- 2 Mr J N Basu B A B L Advocate Mandalay

Nominated by the Hon ble Babu Ambika Charan Mozumdar M A B L President 31st Indian National Congress Lucknow under Article 25 of the rules —

- 1 The Hon ble Mr P Siva Rao of Madras
- 2 Mr M N Maatra of Bengal
- 3 Mr H S L Polak Bar at law of South Africa
- 4 Mr A C Banerjee of Calcutta
- 5 The Hon ble Mr R P Paranjpye B A, B Sc Fergusson College Poona.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
31ST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, LUCKNOW

BENARES.

- 1 Gorain Ram Puri, Vice Chairman, Municipal Board
- 2 Babu Gauri Shanker Prasad, Vakil, Kashi
- 3 Babu Mangla Prasad, M.A. (30 Burtolla Street, Calcutta), Benares
- 4 Babu Hari Har Dass Saheb, Gola Gali, Benares.
- 5 Professor P. K. Telang, Theosophical School, Benares
- 6 Rai Krishnaji, Rais and Zamindar, Benares
- 7 Babu Bhagavan Das Saheb, Sevashrama, Sigra, Benares Cantonment
- 8 Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, General Secretary, Theosophical Society, Benares.
- 9 Babu Mahadeo Prasad, Vakil, Benares
- 10 Dr. Ganesh Prasad Bhargava, Benares
- 11 Mr. P. Sheshadri Iyer, Principal, Central Hindu College,
- 12 The Hon. ble Babu Moti Chand Saheb, C.I.E.
- 13 Rao Gopal Dass and Rao Vaj Nath Dass Shahpuri
- 14 Babu Narottam Dass
- 15 M. Ram Prasad Chaudhury
- 16 Babu Madhava Lal, Chaukhambha, Benares
- 17 Lalji Gopal Dass, Chaukhambha, Benares
- 18 Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta
- 19 Pandit Damodari Joshi
- 20 Babus Ram Dass and Madsoodan Dass, Kothi Madhoji, Tatheri Bazar
- 21 Pandit Madho Ram
- 22 Babu Murl Manohar Dass
- 23 Babu Maharaj Kishore Khanna
- 24 Babus Shyam Dass and Muthra Dass, Proprietors of Messrs. Madhuban Dass, Dwarka Dass, Benares
- 25 Babu Radha Charan Dass
- 26 Babu Jugal Kishore of Gaeghat, Benares
- 27 Babu Batuk Prasad, Gola Gali, Benares
- 28 Dr. Shobha Ram
- 29 Babu Gur Prasad Dhawan (Hindu University), Benares
- 30 Babu Gur Saran Dass Dhaon
- 31 Babu Champa Lal, care of Messrs. Abhai Ram, Chunni Lal
- 32 Babu Bisheshwar Prasad of the firm of Messrs. Bhagat Ram, Gobind Ram, Bisheshwarganj, Benares
- 33 Babu Durga Prasad.

MIRZAPUR

- 1 Babu Sri Ram Saheb, Mirzapur

GORAKHPUR.

- 1 Mr. Charu Chandra Dass
- 2 Babu Mahabir Prasad, Rais, Alinagar, Gorakhpur
- 3 Babu Dwarka Dass " " "
- 4 Babu Hira Lal, " " "
- 5 Babu Birdbasni Prasad, " "
- 6 Babu Narsingh Prasad, Vakil
- 7 Munshi Narsingh Sahai
- 8 Rai Bahadur Munshi Ishwari Prasad, Mohalla Bakshipur
- 9 Babu Mahadeo Prasad Saheb, Manager, Gorakhpur Bank
- 10 Babu Abhai Nandan Prasad, Mukhtar.

11. Babu Ajodhya Dass, Bar-at law
12. Babu Bhagwati Prasad,
13. Babu Narain Prasad

BASTI

1. Babu Sarju Prasad Srivastava, Basti
2. Babu Parmatma Prasad, Vakil, Basti
3. Babu Newal Kishore, Mukhtar, Basti
4. Babu Lachmi Narain " "
5. Babu Daulat Ram Asthana, Vakil, Basti
6. Babu Kamta Prasad, Pleader, Basti
7. Babu Raghunandan Prasad, Vakil, Basti
8. Babu Ram Shanker Lal, Pleader, Basti
9. Babu Jainti Prasad, B A, LL B
10. The Hon'ble Rai Ashtabhuja Prasad Bahadur, P O Bansi, district Basti
11. Pandit Mahraj Narain Tripathi

FYZABAD

1. Babu Mahendra Deo Verma Vakil
2. Thakur Mahadeva Singh, B A, Vakil
3. Thakur Lal Behari Singh, Vakil
4. Babu Manohar Lal, Vakil
5. Babu Sunder Lal, Vakil
6. Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru
7. Thakur Shanker Singh, Vakil
8. Babu Madho Prasad, Vakil
9. Babu Kandhai Prasad, Akberpur, Fyzabad
10. Pandit Kumar Krishna Sukhya
11. Messrs Sarju Prasad and Dhan Ram
12. Babu Tirloki Nath Kapur, Tanda (Fyzabad)
13. Babu Baldeo Prasad, Advocate
14. Mahant Ram Manohar Prasad, Ajodhya
15. Babu Balak Ram Saheb, Ajodhya
16. Babu Mahabir Prasad, Fyzabad
17. Babu Ram Raghubir Lal Saheb

GONDA

1. Babu Sarju Prasad Bhatnagar, Pleader, Gonda
2. Babu Oudh Behari Lal, Pleader, Gonda
3. Babu Satish Chandra Banerji, Pleader, Gonda
4. Rai Saheb Kishen Prasad, Vakil, Gonda
5. Babu Bindeshwari Prasad Vakil
6. Babu Guru Charan Lal, Pleader,
7. Babu Ram Behari Pleader, Gonda
8. Mr Mohammed Beg, Pleader, Gonda
9. Mr Narayan Das, Pleader, Gonda.
10. Mr Ram Narayan, Gonda
11. Raja Ragburaj Singh of Mankapur
12. Babu Banwari Lal, Pleader, Gonda

BAHRAICHI

1. Pandit Ram Sewak Pandey, Municipal Commissioner
2. Pandit Maharaj Narain Himgal
3. Babu Ladi Prasad Sinha, Vakil, Bahraich
4. Babu Salig Ram, Merchant
5. Sirdar Dharam Singh
6. Babu Ghanshyam Dass Sinha, Vakil
7. Babu Gaya Prasad Pandey, Vakil

- 8 Babu Basant Rae Bhandari Vakil
- 9 Babu Munna Lal Vakil
- 10 Babu Prag Dass
- 11 Babu Kirpa Ram Vakil
- 12 Pandit Suraj Narain Dikshit

BARA BANKI

- 1 Raja Prithwipal Singh of Surajpur, P O Hathaunda district Bara Banki.
- 2 Babu Ram Chandra, B. A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court
- 3 Thakur Raghu Nath Singh Saheb Vakil
- 4 Mr Matin Uddin B. A., LL.B. Vakil
- 5 Dr S C Ghosh M. B. B. Sc., Manager Surajpur Estate P O Hathaunda, district Bara Banki
- 6 Babu Roop Narain B.A., LL.B. Vakil
- 7 Shaikh Abdul Ali, Zamindar of Bhyara P O Jahangirabad district Bara Banki
- 8 Pandit Rama Shankar Misra, Vakil
- 9 Pandit Kanhayya Lal Shukla, Vakil
- 10 Pandit Sarju Prasad Misra, B. A., LL.B., Vakil
- 11 Babu Bhagwati Dayal B. A. Vakil
- 12 Lala Balgobind Banker, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner, Bara Banki
- 13 Babu Oudh Bahadur, B. A., Vakil
- 14 Raja Abul Hussan Khan Raja of Bihara
- 15 Pandit Kalka Prasad
- 16 Babu Janki Prasad

SULTANPUR

- 1 Babu Ganpat Sahai Verma, Vakil, High Court

PARTHAGARH

- 1 Babu Awadh Behari Lal, Vakil
- 2 Babu Manik Chand Kapur Pleader
- 3 Pandit Parameshwar Dayal Upadhyaya Vakil
- 4 Pandit Badri Prasad Upadhyaya, c/o Pandit Dalraj Sahai Upadhyaya
- 5 Mr Said Uddin Ahmad Vakil
- 6 Babu Sukhdeo Singh Rais.
- 7 Pandit Gayadhar Prasad Tiwari

LUCKNOW

- 1 Babu Hari Kishen Dhaon Gol Darwaza
- 2 Babu Ram Bharose Lal Pleader, Aminabad
- 3 Dr R. K. Kackkar L. M. S., Pirjail
- 4 Dr R. K. Tandan, M. B. C. M., Kaisar Manzil
- 5 Pandit Iqbal Shanker Kochak
- 6 Babu Sri Kumar Mitra of Mahmudabad Estate Hyderbagh Victoria Street
- 7 Babu Guru Dayal Smastava, Sarai Mali Khan
- 8 Dr M. N. Ohdedar
- 9 Lala Giridhari Lal and Damodar Dass, Bankers and Money lenders, Rustogi Tola.
- 10 Pandit Iqbal Lal Manager Sissendi Estate
- 11 Babu Ram Chandra Advocate Pirjail.
- 12 Pandit Tej Narain Mulla Vakil Golagany.
- 13 Babu Lachman Prasad Varma, Vakil, Golagany
- 14 Hakim Abdul Rashid Jhawal Tola.
- 15 Pandit Manohar Lal Tewari, Vakil Tirmanganj
- 16 Babu Gulab Chand Sircel, Vakil Chowk.
- 17 Pandit Jagmohan Nath Chak, Bar-at-Law, Court View

- 18 Babu Kali Charan, Vakil, Golaganj.
- 19 Mr Mohammad Siddique, Bar at Law, China Bazar Road
- 20 Babu Kundan Lal, Drugs Contractor, Khet Gali and Rani Katra
- 21 Pandit Shiva Nath Sharma, Editor "Anand" and Proprietor Sri Damodar Press
- 22 Mr J P C Bhattacharya, Bar at Law, Hazratganj
- 23 Pandit Brij Narain Tankha, 1, Way Road
- 24 Mr H C Dutta Kaisarbagh
- 25 Babu Rudra Dutta Sinha Vakil, Aminabad
- 26 Pandit Tara Shanker Sharma, Vakil, Chowk
- 27 Syed Ali Mohamed Vakil, Golaganj
- 28 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava Golaganj
- 29 The Hon'ble Mr Syed Wazir Hasan, Outram Road
- 30 Babu Kedar Nath, Advocate Chowk
- 31 Pandit Parduman Kishen Kaul, Vakil, Golaganj
- 32 Babu Indar Narain, Sondhu Tola
- 33 Babu Narain Sarup, Mashakganj
- 34 Babu Gokul Prasad, Vakil 7, Circular Road
- 35 Babu Lakshman Prasad Srivastava, Vakil
- 36 Babu Telu Ram, Sarai Mali Khan
- 37 Mr H N Misra, Bar at Law, 6, Neil Road
- 38 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Kapur, Pleader, Sarai Mali Khan
- 39 Mr Brij Bhan Chandra, Bar at-Law, 9 Pirjail
- 40 Mr C S Ranga Iyer, Editor of the "Advocate"
- 41 Dr Nazir Uddin Hasan, Bar at Law
- 42 Babu Salig Ram, Pleader, Yehaganj
- 43 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru Manager, National Bank of Upper India, Ltd
- 44 Pandit Brij Narain Chakbast 45, Golaganj
- 45 Mr S N Sinha Bar at Law 10 Barrow Road
- 46 Babu Madan Mohan Kothi Sah Behari Lal, Chowk
- 47 Babu Kandhya Lal Vakil, High Court, Sanitary Road
- 48 The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Narain, Golaganj
- 49 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Advocate
- 50 The Hon ble Mirza Sami Ullah Beg Advocate
- 51 Rai Behari Lal, Mohalla Hyderabad
- 52 Pandit Shiva Behari Lal Misra, Golaganj
- 53 Pandit Ganesh Behari Misra
- 54 Pandit Bisheshwar Daya' Trivedi, Ganeshganj
- 55 Babu Gopal Dass Varma Cloth Merchant, Aminabad Park
- 56 Babu Ramapat Ram, Vakil Golaganj
- 57 Mr M Wasin, Bar at Law Kutchery Road
- 58 Dr Ganga Ram Jaithi, L M S, Chowk
- 59 The Hon ble Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan, Khan Bahadur,
K. C. S. I., of Mahmudabad
- 60 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, Bar at Law
- 61 Syed Nabi Ullah Bar at Law
- 62 Pandit Iqbal Narayan Masaldan, Bar at Law
- 63 Babu Anand Behari Lal Oudh Seed Stores
- 64 Mr P C Vidyant, Maqbulganj
- 65 Babu Ajit Prasad, Vakil, High Court, Hewett Road
- 66 Babu Brij Mohan Dayal Vakil, Naubasta.
67. Dr G N Ohdedar, Way Road
- 68 Dr P D Kackar, Chowk
69. Mr St. G Jackson, Bar at-Law
- 70 Mr A P Sen, Bar at Law
- 71 Pandit Kshamaapati Bajpayi, Rani Katra

- 128 Mr L. Landau, Jeweller, Hazratganj
- 129 Mr E H Parekh, Narahi
- 130 Mr Ganeshi Lal, Jeweller
- 131 Babu Murlī Dhar, B.A., LL.B.
- 132 Babu Suraj Prasad Kalwar, Naka Hindola
- 133 Lala Chunni Lal, Aminabad
- 134 Pandit Debi Sahai Misra, Retired Deputy
- 135 Babu Jwala Sahai, Hazratganj
- 136 Rai Sahab Jwala Prasad, Gangni Shukul ka Talab
- 137 Pandit Ram Ratan of Narhat
- 138 Raja Shyam Sunder Nath Kaul
- 139 Lala Salig Ram, Contractor
- 140 Babu Ram Dularey Harnam Prasad of Ganeshtaganj
- 141 Pandit Ram Balak Shukul
- 142 Dr J M Lahri, Golaganj
- 143 Raja Indra Bihram Singh, Taluqdar, Itanuja, district Lucknow.
- 144 Thakur Jung Bahadur of Bhowali
- 145 Babu Shambhu Nath, care of Babu Gajya Prasad
- 146 Lala Har Prasad Tandan, Katori Tola
- 147 Babu Janki Prasad, 344, Sondhi Tola
- 148 Shaikh Mirzan Naya Gaon
- 149 Lala Munshi Lal, Sondhi Tola
- 150 Babu Hari Kishan Charbat Mohalla
- 151 Lala Sri Ram
- 152 Babu Mahadeo Prasad, Khazanchi
- 153 Lala Fakir Chand, Shawl Merchant
- 154 Lala Purshottam Dass Rustogi
- 155 Pandit Ram Narain Shastri, Vaidya
- 156 Babu Mahesh Prasad Katori Tola
- 157 Mr Gunda Singh, Manager of Messrs Uberoi & Co, Ltd
- 158 Mr Narain Dass Hazratganj
- 159 Lala Ganesh Prasad, Banker Sadatganj
- 160 Mr Sri Ram, Banker, Chowk
- 161 Shaikh Shahid Husain, Bar at-Law
- 162 Mr Narayan Dass, Yahaganj
- 163 Mr Narain Dass, Banker, Yahaganj
- 164 Nawab Zulqudar Jang
- 165 Mr Ram Rikh Ram Karan, Aminabad
- 166 Pandit Jai Narain Misra, Contractor
- 167 Pandit Devi Dayal Misra, Assistant Manager, Persedi Estate
- 168 Babu Kali Charan Wakil, Golaganj
- 169 Lala Nanhey Mul Ram Dass
- 170 Pandit Ajodhya Prasad Shukul
- 171 Lala Muthra Dass of the firm of Messrs Lalji Mal
- 172 Babu Sarju Prasad
- 173 Babu Shyam Sunder Lal
- 174 Mr Maqbul Ahmed
- 175 Lala Kunjbehari Lal
- 176 Thakur Kalka Prasad Singh
- 177 Babu Umrao Bahadur
- 178 Babu Sitapat Ram, Taluqdar
- 179 Babu Kamakhyā Datt Ram
- 180 Pandit Raghunandan Lal
- 181 Babu Panna Lal
- 182 Babu Bhagwati Prasad
- 183 Mr N Shewak Shaw, Hazratganj

- 184 Lala Hari Kishan Das
- 185 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Kapur
- 186 Mr Wasil Uddin, Bar at-Law
- 187 Lala Har Govind Prasad
- 188 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul

SITAPUR

- 1 Mr A. K. Bose, Pleader
- 2 Babu Chhotay Lal, Vakil
- 3 Thakur Rajendra Singh Saheb of Tikra
- 4 Pandit Kalka Prasad Saheb Trivedi, B.A., LL.B., Vakil
- 5 Babu Sidh Prasad Saheb, Vakil
- 6 Thakur Lakshman Singh Verma, Banja Mao Estate, P. O. Machrahta district Sitapur
- 7 Mir Muzaffer Husain Vakil
- 8 Mr M. K. Ashraf, Bar-at Law
- 9 Babu Rudra Narain Pleader
- 10 Babu Ram Sarup Kapur, F.A., LL.B., Vakil
- 11 Pandit Gaya Parshad Tewari, Vakil and Zamindar
- 12 Babu Kanhaya Lal, Pleader, Hony Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner
- 13 Syed Ahmad Hasan Pleader
- 14 Mr M. B. Saddiq, Pleader
- 15 Mr Bishnu Kumar Bhargava, M.A., LL.B., Vakil
- 16 Babu Maharaj Bahadur Srivastava Zamindar, Pirnagar, district Sitapur
- 17 Babu Ram Prasad Srivastava Zamindar, Ulra district Sitapur
- 18 Lala Bhola Nath Zamindar, Biswan district Sitapur
- 19 L. Lalit Behari Lal Taluqdar, Bhejpur Biswan, district Sitapur
- 20 Pandit Ram Piare Shukla Bhadesia, district Sitapur
- 21 Babu Murlidhar, Vakil
- 22 Thakur Ram Pal Singh Taluqdar, Basoidih, P. O. Sitapur
- 23 Thakur Bishambhar Nath Singh, Taluqdar, Biswan
- 24 Mirza Saheb of Aurangabad
- 25 Thakur Ram Singh Surecha
- 26 Babu Chhail Behari Lal, Vakil

UNAO

- 1 Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpai, Vakil
- 2 Babu Prag Narain, Vakil
- 3 Babu Lakshmi Narain Vakil
- 4 Pandit Chandra Bhal Bajpai, Taluqdar, Kardaha Estate, district Unao
- 5 Pandit Maha Nand Dube
- 6 Pandit Shiva Pearey Lal Dikshit

RAI BARELI

- 1 Pandit Gur Dayal Tiwari
- 2 Shaikh Shahab Uddin Ahmad, Pleader
- 3 Babu Kismet Rai Jagdhari, Vakil
- 4 Babu Amrit Rai, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Rai Bareli
- 5 Babu Badri Nath Bhargava, Brick-Kiln Owner and Contractor, P. W. D., &c., Rai Bareli
- 6 Mr B. I. Ali Khan, Bar at-Law
- 7 Pandit Gaya Prasad Shukla
- 8 Mr Wajid Ali, Vakil
- 9 Mr Mohammad Afzal, Bar at-Law
- 10 Pandit Behari Lal Nehru

- 14 Babu Lachman Prasad, son of Dr Badri Prasad
- 15 Hakim Ganga Dutt Pandey
- 16 Babu Shyam Sunder Lal, Sahukara
- 17 Babu Raghbir Singh, Rais Killa
- 18 Lala Mathura Prasad Chandra Sen
- 19 Babu Brij Kishore, Alamgiringanj
- 20 Seth Brij Lal Banwari Lal
- 21 Dr Shyam Swarup, L. M. S., Medical Practitioner
- 22 Lala Hazari Lal Roopay Lal
- 23 Lala Khunni Lal Contractor, Bareilly

BADAUN

- 1 Mr N R Tandan, Bar at Law
- 2 Babu Krishna Murari Varma, Vakil
- 3 Babu Raj Kumar, Vakil
- 4 Babu Amir Chand Johary, B. A., LL. B., Vakil
- 5 Mohammad Ikram Alam, Vakil
- 6 Babu Shyama Charan

MORADABAD

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Radha Kishen Dass, Vakil
- 2 L. Santi Parshad Agarwal, Vakil, High Court
- 3 Dr R K Banerji, Medical Practitioner
- 4 Lala Lalta Prasad
- 5 Mr Jaggan Nath Pearey Lal
- 6 Musammat Ram Pearey
- 7 Babu Soti Kishen Saroop

RAMPUR ESTATE

- 1 Major U L. Desai, M. A., D. Sc., M. D., & c., State Surgeon

PILIBHIT

- 1 Babu Maharaj Narain Chowdhari, B. A. LL. B., Vakil
- 2 Babu Lalit Mohan Chowdhuri, Vakil, Pilibhit

MEERUT

- 1 Chaudhury Raghbir Narain Singh of Asora, Municipal Commissioner
Lala ki Bazar
- 2 B Shyam Sundar Lal
- 3 Pandit Sita Ram, M. A., LL. B.
- 4 The Hon'ble B. Madhusudan Dayal Saheb of Hapur
- 5 Babu Indu Bhawan Bose, M. A., LL. B., Vakil.
- 6 Rai Saheb Chowbey Chakhan Lal Vakil.
- 7 Babu Avadh Behari Lal.
8. Babu Ghan Sham Das
9. Babu Kishori Lal, Rais Sudder Bazar
- 10 B Babu Ram
- 11 Babu Shiva Charan Dass.
- 12 Dr S Sen L. M. S.
- 13 Babu Pyare Lal Asthana, Vakil, Sudder Bazar
- 14 Pandit Suraj Hal D kshit
- 15 Mr Mansumrat Dass Jaini Bar at Law
- 16 Babu Khushil Parshad, Vakil, Sudder Bazar
- 17 Babu Damodar Dass, Vakil.
- 18 Pandit Lakshman Dass Kashyap
- 19 Babu Ram Richpal Singh Vakil
- 20 Pandit Bishambhar Nath Vakil
- 21 Lala Bhagwan Dass, Contractor
- 22 S. Mohammad Husain Bar-at Law.
- 23 Mr Mangat Rai Header

ALIGARH

- 1 Hafiz Mohammad Abdul Rahim Saheb Pleader
- 2 Lala Jwala Prasad Koshwal
- 3 Pandit Sohan Lal Gour Vakil
- 4 Mr Abdul Majid Khvaja Bar at law
- 5 Pandit Ganga Prasad Misra Bar at law
- 6 Babu Kishen Dayal Vakil
- 7 Lala Ganesh Lal Sharaf
- 8 Lala Madan Lal Upper Koat Street
- 9 Babu Puran Mall Pleader
- 10 Babu Kishori Lal Pleader
- 11 Babu Sheo Prasad Vakil
- 12 Babu Manni Lal Vakil
- 13 Babu Sohan Lal Pleader
- 14 Babu Anant Ram Bhargava Vakil
- 15 Mr H K Shervani Bar at law
- 16 Thakur Manik Singh Vakil
- 17 Babu Kalyan Singh Rais of Jalalpur
- 18 Babu Mathura Prasad Bhargava of Sasni district Aligarh
- 19 Pandit Bhawan Shanker Vakil
- 20 Pandit Hari Dass Pleader
- 21 Amir Mustafa Khan
- 22 Mr Narendra Pal Singh Bar at law
- 23 Pandit Basdeo Sahai Sharma

MUTTRA

- 1 Mr Guru Shanker Iyer

ETAH

- 1 Babu Ulfat Rai Rais and Zamindar
- 2 Babu Suraj Prasad Banker and Zamindar

JHANSI

- 1 The Hon ble Rai Shanker Sahai Saheb Vakil

JALAUN

- 1 Rai Saheb Pandit Gopal Dass Sharma Vakil Ora

ALLAHABAD

- 1 The Hon ble Mr C Y Chintaman, 14 A South Road
- 2 Mr S Sinha Bar at Law, 7, Elgin Road
- 3 Mr Jawahar Lal Nehru Bar at Law
- 4 Pandit Jagjivan Nath Takru 2 Bank Road
- 5 Mr Gulzari Lal Vakil High Court
- 6 Mr K N Laghate Hewett Road
- 7 Babu Durga Charan Banerjee Advocate
- 8 Dr Ranjit Singh Manbhavan
- 9 Lala Shiva Charan Lal Chairman Municipal Board
- 10 Mr B Sanjva Rao Principal Kayestha Pathshala
- 11 The Hon ble Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru
- 12 Babu Prem Nath Banerjee, Advocate High Court.
- 13 Rai Brij Narain Gurtu Vakil High Court
- 14 The Hon ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru Advocate High Court
- 15 Munshi Iswar Saran Vakil High Court
- 16 Babu Beni Madho Benares Hindu University Office
- 17 Babu Kamta Prasad Vakil
- 18 Babu Panna Lal Vakil Elgin Road
- 19 Babu Girdhari Lal Agarwala B.A., LL.B Vakil
- 20 Mr S K. Dar Vakil High Court.
- 21 Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Dass Rais

- 22 Babu Durga Charan Singh, Vakil
- 23 Pandit Ladli Prasad Zutshi,
- 24 Dr Mulchand Tandan
- 25 Babu Ganga Pratap Gupta,
- 26 Pandit Shyam Nath
- 27 Pandit Krishna Ram
- 28 The Hon ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya
- 29 Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru
- 30 Pandit Venkatesh Narain Tiwari,
- 31 Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave,
- 32 The Hon'ble Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana.

CAWNPORE.

- 1 Bahu Munna Lal, Pleader.
- 2 Pandit Bishwa Nath Thohal, Vakil,
- 3 Babu Brij Narain Mehrotra, I A, LL.B., Vakil, High Court.
- 4 L Bishambhar Nath, Rai Bahadur
- 5 Babu Narain Prasad Nigam, Vakil, High Court
- 6 The Hon ble Rai Bahadur Anand Swarup, Vakil High Court
- 7 Babu Bansidhar Municipal Commissioner
- 8 Mr N G Paranjpe, Theosophical High School
- 9 Babu Dwarka Prasad Singh, Pleader
- 10 Babu Vikramajit Singh, Vakil
- 11 Messrs Kanahia Lal, Ram Gopal Bankers
- 12 Babu Changa Mal, Mani Ram ki-Bagia
- 13 Babu Brij Narain Saksena, I A, LL.B., Vakil
- 14 Lala Dina Nath Sahab, Municipal Commissioner
- 15 Lala Kanhaiya Lal II
- 16 Babu Nandan Prasad, Rais
- 17 Babu Bankey Behari Bhargava.
- 18 Pandit Kundan Lal Tewari
- 19 Babu Gobardhan Dass Bhargava.
- 20 Lala Salig Ram, Cloth Merchant
- 21 Babu Mangli Prasad, Vakil,
- 22 Lala Juggi Mal
- 23 Lala Shiva Prasad
- 24 Lala Gur Prasad Kapur
- 25 Lala Hazari Mal
- 26 Lala Devi Datt
- 27 Lala Basant Lal
- 28 Lala Manna Lal, Rais and Municipal Commissioner
- 29 Dr S N Sen
- 30 Lala Chunni Lal
- 31 Lala Shahzade Lal, Banker
- 32 Babu Behari Lal
- 33 Munshi Jwala Prasad
- 34 Rai Bahadur Lala Kanhaiya Lal
- 35 Mr A Hun, Bar at-law
- 36 Mr B N Sen.
- 37 Lala Pitambar Lal
- 38 Mr Ram Kumar Misra, Member, District Board
- 39 Pandit Gargi Din Misra, Managing Director, Kanya Kanya Bank of India, Limited
- 40 Babu Daulat Ram Manocha,
- 41 S. I azul Rahman.
- 42 Mr Akhay Kumar Chakravarty

ETAWAH

- 1 Pandit Baleshwar Prasad Misra, Banker
- 2 Bhateley Shyam Behari Lal, Birari, district Etawah
- 3 Pandit Hardeo Singh Tiwari, Talukdar
- 4 Raja Hukum Tej Pratap Singh

GARIHWAL

- 1 The hon Pandit Tara Datt Gairola, Pauri
- 2 Rai Pandit Hari Saran Raturi Sabe

NAINI TAL

- 1 Pandit Mathura Dutta Pandey, Vakul

ALMORA

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Bishen Narain Dar

DELHI

- 1 The Hon ble Lala Sultan Singh, Rai Bahadur
- 2 Lala Pearcey Lal, Motor Merchant
- 3 Babu Pearcey Lal Saheb, Vakul
- 4 Babu Shiva Narain, Vakul, Katra Asharfi
- 5 Babu Girdhari Lal, Vakul
- 6 Pandit Brij Nath Choubay
- 7 Dr A C Sen L M S
- 8 Dr Abdul Rahman, M B, Ch B (Edin) Fatehpuri
- 9 Dr M A Ansari
- 10 Rai Saheb Lala Ram Chand
- 11 Lala Ram Kishore Dass
- 12 Mr A C Bose
- 13 Babu Ram Kishore Varma, Vakul
- 14 Lala Banwari Lal of the firm of Bhana Mal Gulzari Lal, Chawori Bazar
- 15 Lala Muna Mal, Dhulyawala
- 16 Mr Sri Ram Bar at Law

MISCELLANEOUS

- 1 Pandit Bansidhar Sharma M A, LLB Ajmere
- 2 Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad Tripathi
- 3 Mr Damodar Dass K Rathi
- 4 Babu Ganga Ram Agarwala, B A, LLB Vakul
- 5 Mr Pushkar Narain Mehra, Vakul
- 6 Seth Hira Chand
- 7 Rai Bahadur Seth Chagan Mal Magan Mal
- 8 Mr V G Bapat, Bar at Law
- 9 Dewan Bahadur Seth Ummed Mal
- 10 Rai Bahadur Seth Nemi Chand
- 11 Mr Sorabji Dadabhoy, Vakul
- 12 Rai Bahadur Lala Mool Chand Kapur, formerly Pay Master B B and C I Railway, Ajmere,
- 13 Mr Fateh Chand Mehta, Bar at Law
- 14 Rai Saheb Munshi Bishamber Nath, Vakul
- 15 Mr Gouri Shankar, Bar at Law
- 16 Mr Gobind Prasad Bar at Law
- 17 Babu Mithan Lal Vakul
- 18 Babu Ghisu Lal, Vakul
- 19 Babu Suraj Karan Sarda, Vakul
20. Dewan Bahadur G R. Khandekar, Retired Judge Ajmere
- 21 Mr Devi Dass Madhoo
- 22 Seth Sobhag Mal.

APPENDIX D

Provincial Allotment of Houses for Delegates of Congress, Lucknow

I—CONGRESS CAMI

Accommodation for the United Provinces and the Punjab and Behar Delegates	700
Also for the members of the Reception Committee	

II—MADRAS CAMIS

1 C M S School Building Banks Road	150
2 Kapurthala House Kaisarbagh	50
3 Gonda House Do	50
	<hr/>
	250

III—BOMBAY CAMIS

1 Chhedilal's Dharamshala near Aminabad Park	150	Deccanis
2 Aminuddaulah's kothi	50	Deccanis
3 Landay's House Grain Market Ganeshganj	50	Gujratis
4 Sri Ram's Orphanage LaTouche Road	40	
5 Anglo Bengali School Hewett Road }	50	Sindhis
6 Mannilal's Houses Hewett Road }		
	<hr/>	
	340	

IV—BENGAL CAMIS

1 Thakur Sripal Singh's houses Cantonment Road	70	
2 C M S Hostel Cantonment Road	40	
3 St Francis School Shahnajaf Road	60	(Bengalis—European style)
4 Great Indian Hotel La Touche Road	15	
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	185	

V—C P AND BERAR CAMI

1 Reid Christian Collegiate School	100 delegates
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VI—PARSEE CAMI

1 Islamia School Building Banks Road	25
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VII—MAHOMEDAN CAMI

1 Congress Camp (Tents)	25
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VIII—EUROPEAN STYLE CAMI

1 Carleton Hotel Shahnajaf Road	3
2 Poyal Hotel Abott Road	17
3 Grand Hotel Abott Road	10
	<hr/>
	30

SPECIAL CAMI

1—Residents Camp	Vizianagram House Clyde Road
2 General Secretaries Camp	British Indian Association Dharamshala LaTouche Road

GOKARAN NATH MISHRA

SECRETARY

Reception Committee

ELECTION RETURN OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

Thirty-First Indian National Congress,*Held at Lucknow, on the 26th, 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1916*

PROVINCE—UNITED PROVINCES

Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
Allahabad P C Committee	Babu Anant Prasad L M P	Kayastha	Medical Practitioner Allahabad	At the Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 6th December 1916
2	Pt Ajodhya Prasad Sharma B A	Brahmin	Head Master K P Jaunpur	25 12 16
3	B Brijmohan Lal Arora	Arora	General Merchant 42 Johnstongunj Allahabad	26 12 16
4	B Brij Nath Prasad	Hindu	Zamindar Mutthuganj Allahabad	6 12 16
5	B Badri Nath	Kayastha	Landholder Rampur village district Jaunpur	
6	Rai Braj Narain Gurtu M A	Kashmiri Brahmin	Vakil High Court 25 George Town Allahabad	
7	It Baldeo Ram Dave	Nagar Brahmin	Vakil High Court Allahabad	
8	P Chintamani Panday	Brahmin	Contractor Ganeshganj Lucknow	At a General Meeting held at Lucknow on 20th Dec 1916
9	Dr D R Ranj t Singh L M S	Kayastha	Doctor and Zamindar Ma bhawan Canning Road Allahabad	At the Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 6th December 1916
10	Babu Durga Charan Banerjee B A			

11	Babu Damodar Das, M A	Agarwala	Legal Profession, Vakul, High Court, Allahabad	"	"
12	Pt Ganesh Bihari Misra	Brahmin	Hon Magistrate, Landlord, Golagranj, Lucknow	"	Lucknow 6 12-16
13	Babu Ganesh Prasad Seth	Khatti	Trader, 7, South Road, Allahabad	"	"
14	"	Kayestha	Teacher, Allahabad	"	"
15	Ganga Pratap Gupta M A LL B	Vaishya	Vakil, High Court, 2, Stanley Road, Allahabad	"	"
16	"	"	Vakil, Gonda	"	"
17	Ganesh Prasad	Khatti	Independent	"	"
18	Lala Girdhari Lal, Rais and Banker	"	Banker	"	"
19	Syed Hyder Mehdi, B A LL B	Mahomedan	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	"	"
20	Choubey Hira Lal Misra	Brahmin	Vaid, Agra	"	"
21	Pt Hari Kanta Malaviya B A	"	Private tuition, Bharti Bhavan, Allahabad.	"	"
22	B Hanmandi Prasad, Vakil	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, 44, George Town, Allahabad	"	"
23	Pt Har Prasad Misra I A, LL B	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Grand Trunk Road, Allahabad	"	"
24	Munshi Iswar Swarn, I A	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, 6, Elgin Road, Allahabad	"	"
25	B Janki Prasad Purushottamjee, B A, LL B	"	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	"	"
26	Pt Jagadhar Guleri, M A	Brahmin	University Research Scholar, Allahabad	"	"
27	B Jagdish Prasad, M A	Kayestha	Professor, K P College	"	"
28	Pt Jawahar Lal Nehru, M A (Contab)	Kashmiri Brahmin	Bar at Law	"	"
29	Mehta Krishna Ram, B A LL B	Brahmin	Journalist, 14A, South Road	"	"
30	B Kashi Nath	Hindu	Zamindar, Muthiganj	"	"
31	Babu Kamala Kanta Verma, B A, LL B	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad	"	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected.
32	Allahabad P. C. Committee.	II. Kailash Nath B. A., LL.B.	Kayastha	Member, Judges Court, Jaunpur	At the Meeting of the U. P. Congress Committee held on 6th December 1916
33	"	II Keshava Chandra Singh Chaudhury	Kshattriya	Vakil, High Court, 6, Park Road, Allahabad	At a Public Meeting held on 6th December 1916
34	"	PI Kailash Nath Katju, M. A., LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, 17, Albert Road, Allahabad	At Provincial Congress Committee Meeting held on 6-12-16
35	"	M Kanhya Lal, B. A., LL.B.	Kayastha	Vakil, High Court, Badshahimundi, Allahabad	"
36	"	PI Krishna Kanta Malaviya	Hindu	Bharti Bhawan, Allahabad	"
37	"	II Kamta Parshad Kacker, B.A., LL.B.	Khattar	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	"
38	"	II Lachmi Narayan	Hindu	Zamindar, Muthuganj Allahabad	"
39	"	PI L. R. Dube, B. A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	"
40	"	PI Ladi Prasad Zutshi	Kashmiri Brahmin	" " "	"
41	"	PI Lakshmi Nath Sharma	Brahmin	Town Hall Road, Allahabad	"
42	"	Mr Manzhar Ali Sokhta	Mahomedan	Vakil, Johnstongunj, Allahabad	"
43	"	PI Mahadco Dube, B. A.	Brahmin	Zamindar, Kara, Allahabad	"
44	"	The Hon Mr M. M. Malaviya	"	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	16-12-16
45	"	" Moti Lal Nehru	Kashmiri Brahmin	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad	6-12-16
46	"	M Newal Kishore, B. A., LL.B.	Kayastha	Vakil, High Court, Hewett Road, Allahabad	"
47	"	The Hon Mr Narayan Prasad Ashthana, M. A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, High Court, 3, City Road, Allahabad	"
48	"	Babu Nawab Bahadur, B. A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, High Court, Khushal Parbat, Allahabad	"

49	"	Mr. N. V. Raj	...	...	Kshatriya.	Landholder, Jaunpore	...
50	"	Mr. Dinker Prasad Bisarya	...	...	Kayestha	Manager, Edward High School, Muzaffarnagar	"
51	"	B Purushottam Das Tandon, M.A., LL.B.	...	...	Khatti.	Vakil, High Court, Johnstongunj, Allahabad.	"
52	"	B. Partap Narain	...	...	"	Merchant, Chauk, Allahabad	"
53	"	B Preeto Nath Banerjee, Advocate	...	...	Brahmin	Advocate, High Court	"
54	"	Mr. Raghubar Dayal, Bar at-Law	...	...	Vaish, Agarwala	Civil Lines	"
55	"	B Ranendra Nath Basu, B.A., LL.B.	...	...	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court	"
56	"	B Ram Din Vaish	...	...	Vaishya	Merchant, Colonganj	"
57	"	B Ram Prasad Mehra	...	...	Khatti	" Guyrat Mohalla	"
58	"	Pt. Radha Kanta Malaviya, M.A., LL.B.	...	...	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	"
59	"	B Sangam Lal	...	...	Agarwala.	C/o Lala Bachu Lal	"
60	"	B Sangam Lal Agarwala	...	...	"	Teacher, Mutthiganj	"
61	"	Pt. Sham Lal Nehru	...	...	Kashmiri Brahmin,	Manager, 'Law Journal'	"
62	"	Mr. B. Sanjiva Rao, M.A. (Cantab)	...	...	"	Principal, Kayestha Pathshala College, Allahabad	"
63	"	B. Sarju Prasad, M.A., LL.B.	...	...	Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court, Jaunpur	"
64	"	Pt. Sham Nath Mushran	...	...	Kashmiri Brahmin	Bar-at-Law, Allahabad	"
65	"	Babu Sham Sunder Lal, B.A., LL.B.	...	...	...	Vakil, Bahraich	"
66	"	The Hon. Dr. Sundar Lal, C. L. E., B.A., LL.D.	...	...	Nagar Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad	"
67	"	Mr. Tarachand, M.A.	...	...	Kayestha.	Professor, 29 Kutchery Road, Allahabad	"
68	"	The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru	...	...	Kashmiri Brahmin	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad	"
69	"	Pt. Vishnu Dutt Pandey, B.A.	...	...	Brahmin	Contractor, Ganeshganj, Lucknow	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected
70	Allahabad U P C Committee	B Vishnu Nath Saxena B A, LL B	Hindu	Vakil 2 Mayo Road, Allahabad	Allahabad P C C held on 6th December 1916
71	Azamgarh District C Committee	Babu Balchandra Pleader	Hindu, Agarwala	Legal Practitioner, Azamgarh	Azamgarh District Congress Committee Meeting on 14th December 1916
72	"	Pandit Baij Nath Misra B A, LL B	Brahmin	" " "	"
73	"	Babu Baij Nath Prasad, B A, LL B	Hindu	" " close to Civil Hospital, Azamgarh	"
74	"	Ganga Prasad Rai, Pleader	"	Legal Practitioner, Azamgarh	"
75	"	" Lakshmi Lal Varma, B A, LL B	Kayastha	" " "	"
76	"	Makund Lal /amindar	Agarwala	P O Sagri	"
77	"	" Mahabir Prasad, B A LL B	Vaishya	Pleader	"
78	"	Pandit Raghunath Panday, B A LL B	Brahmin	Legal Practitioner	"
79	"	" Sham Nath Panday	"	Mukhtar,	"
80	"	Babu Udaya Narain Singh B A, LL B	"	" " "	"
81	"	" Vinayak Prasad Asthana, B A, LL B	Kayastha	" " "	"
82	Ajmer District C Committee	Pandit Bansu Dhar Sharma, B A, LL B	Brahmin	Member of the Ajmer Bar, Karsanganj, Ajmer	Public Meeting of Ajmer held on 10th December 1916
83	"	R Saheb Pandit Chandrika Prasad Tripathi	"	Government Pensioner, Ajmer	"
84	"	Kunwar Chand Karan Sarda, B A, LL B	Maheshwary	Member of the Ajmer Bar, Madar Gate, Ajmer	"
85	Aligarh District C Committee	Mr Abdul Majid Khwaja, B A (Cantab)	Mahomedan	Law and Zamindar, Aligarh City, Aligarh	Aligarh District Congress Committee held on 15th December 1916
86	"	Dr Amar Singh B L M S	Hindu	Medicine, Raj Road, Aligarh City	"

87	Mr Amir Mustafa Khan	Musalman	Zemindar	Aligarh City
88	Babu Atal Behari Lal Mukhtear	Kayestha	Legal Practitioner	
89	Badri Prasad Mathur B A LL B			
90	Bindeshwari Prasad M A LL B			
91	Dilendra Nath Chatterjee	Bengali Brahmin	Chowk Gangadas Ali garh City Mechanical Engineer Aligarh City	
92	Girdhari Lal LL B	Vaishya	Legal Practitioner	
93	Ganesh Lal	Kayestha	Zamindar Gallugis Street Aligarh City	
94	Lala Gayal Prasad	Vaishya	district Bulandshahr	
95	Babu Gajadhar Prasad B A LL B	Kayestha	Legal Practitioner Aligarh City	
96	Gobind Lal	Hindu	Zamindar Kishore Bhawan Aligarh	
97	Babu Hari Har Dayal Singh	Kayestha	Merchant Aligarh City	
98	Mr Haroon Khan Sherwani B A	Musalman	Law and Zemindari Bar at Law Aligarh City	
99	Babu Isvari Dass B A LL B	Jain	Law Aligarh City	
100	B S J Narain Singh	Vaishya	Legal Practitioner Bulandshahr	
101	Thakur Jhamman Singh B A LL B	Rajput	Aligarh City	
102	Paadit Jiban Shanker Vajniak M A LL B	Brahmin	Law and Zemindari Shahpara	
103	Babu Lalipat Rai	Kayestha	Legal Practitioner Aligarh City	
104	Babu Misri Lal B A LL B	Vaishya		Lucknow
105	Haji Mohammad Musa Khan	Musalman		
106	Mr Mohan Lal Varma, Bar at Law	Khatti	Zemindari	Aligarh City
107	Dr Manohar Lal Member of District Board	Kayestha	Law	
			Zemindari and Medicine Railway Road Aligarh	Lucknow

At a public meeting held on
15th December 1916

Serial No.	Llectorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
108	Ajmer Dist C. Committee	Babu Niranjay Lal	Vaisya	Zemindari in Medicine Mamu Bhanja Ali garh	At a public meeting held on 15th December 1916 Lucknow
109		Babu Rajendra Kumar Bhattacharjee, B.A. LL.B.	Bengali Brahmin	Legal Practitioner	"
110		Pandit Rama Shanker Yajuk	Brahmin	Zemindari Shahpara	"
111	"	Pandit Rama Shanker Mehta	"	and Bunking	"
112		Babu Shree Prasad Sharma	"	Gangra	"
113		Babu Shiva Sahas B.A. LL.B.	Kayastha	Law Saras Khirni	"
114		Babu Tarak Nath Chatterjee B.A. LL.B.	Bengali Brahmin	Law C/o Mr T. N. Chatterji	"
115	"	Mr Tasaddug Ahmed Khan Sherwani Bar at Law	Musalman	Law	"
116	Agra Dist. C. Committee	B. Avadh Behari Lal M.A. LL.B. Vakil	Kayastha	Law Agra	At a public meeting held at Agra on 19th December 1916 15 12 16
117		Mr A. N. Vyas	Brahmin	Merchand	19 12 16.
118	"	Pandit Arjun Nath Takur B.A.	Kashmir Brahmin	Club Int	"
119		Babu Asrar Ali Lal Leader	Kayastha	Pleadership	"
120		Babu Ram Gupta	Vaishya	Merchant	"
121	"	Babu Bishambhar Nath Varma B.A. LL.B.	Kayastha	Law Muttra	"
122		Pt Badari Nath Bhatt B.A.	Brahmin	Journalist Indian Press Allahabad	"
123		B. Brij Bahadoor Lal Verma B.A.	Kayastha	Law Dist Judges Court Ghazipur	"
124	"	Pt Banarasi Das Chaturvedi	Brahmin	Pleader Agra	"
125		Babu Bishambhar Nath Garg	Vaisya	Marble Merchant Katelers Ghat Agra	"

126	"	Babu Chandrika Prasad, B.A., LL.B.	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, Ghazipur	"
127	"	Babu Debi Prasad Chaturvedi, M.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Vakil " Agra	"
128	"	Pandit Damodar Prasad	"	Contractor	"
129	"	Pandit Dina Nath Kunzru, B.A.	Kashmiri Brahmin	Zemindari, Chuli Int., Agra	"
130	"	Lala Dal Chand	Vaishya	Jeweller	"
131	"	Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, B.A., LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahmin	Law and Zemindari	"
132	"	Babu Gopeshwar Mehra	Khatti	Asstt. Engineer, Krishna Night School, Agra	"
133	"	Mr. Ganga Dhar, B.A., LL.B.	Vaishya	Law Agra	"
134	"	Pandit Ganga Dutt Panday, P.A.	Brahmin	Teacher, Agra	"
135	"	Babu Govinda Prasad Kacker	Khatti	Banking, Panni Gali, Agra	"
136	"	M. Habib Ahmed	Musliman		"
137	"	Pandit Hari Dutt Joshi	Brahmin		"
138	"	B. Haran Lal	Vaish		"
139	"	Rajendar Narain, Rais and Honey Magistrate	Kayestha	Proprietor of U.P. Brass Works Bahjou, District Moradabad	"
140	"	Babu Jadu Rai, B.A., LL.B., Vakil	Vaishya	Zemindari, Sakut, District J. tah	"
141	"	Pandit Juwa Ram Dikshit	Brahmin	Law, Agra	"
142	"	Lala Kanahia Lal, B.A., LL.B.	Vaisha Agarwala	" Mokhtear, Behaganj, Agra	"
143	"	Pandit Kehri Singh, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Vakil,	"
144	"	Pandit Kailas Nath Kurzru, B.A., LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahmin	" High Court	"
145	"	Babu Kedar Nath Bhatt, V.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	" and Zemindari	"
146	"	B. Lakshmi Narain Melira, B.Sc. (Hon.)	Mehra	"	"
				Demonstrator P.W. College, Jawanau	"

Serial No	Lecturate	Name in full of Delegates with all title, honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected
147	Agra District Committee.	Mohammad Hossain	Musalman	Zemindar Bara Banki	At a public meeting held at Agra on 15th December 1916
148	"	Bal u Madhuri Prasad	Vaishya	Trader Firozabad Agra	
149	"	Babu Mahendra Nath	Kayastha	Zemindar Hari Farbat	
150	"	Dr Murari Lal	Hindu	Medicine Lann Gal Alora	
151	"	B Ram Prasad Goyal M A LL B	Vaishya	Law	
152	"	Landit Lameshwar Nath Raina J A LL B	Kashmiri Brahmin Vaishya	Club Int	At a Public Meeting held at Agra on 15th December 1916
153	"	Mr Radha Raman Gupta B A LL B	Kayastha	Landlord	
154	"	Mr R Sesena	Brahmin	Katra District Meerut	
155	"	Landit Rameshwar Dayal B A	Kashmiri Brahmin Vaishya	Zemindar Chuli Int, Agra	
156	"	Raj Nath Kunzru	Brahmin	Banker	
157	"	Seth Rada Krishna Salia	Brahmin	Zemindari	
158	"	Babu Susini Chandra	Khattari	Banking Panu Galt	
159	"	Babu Satnam Singh Sethi	Kashmiri Brahmin Vaishya	Vakil High Court	
160	"	Pandit Sunder Nath Kaul L A, LL B	Brahmin	Law, Vakil Agra	
161	Agra District Committee	B Tilla Ram B A LL B	Brahmin	Editor Almora Akhbar Almora	
162	Almora District Committee.	Pandit Badri Datt Panday	Brahmin	Law Vakil High Court Naini Tal and Almora	At a Public Meeting held at Almora on 20th Nov 1916
163	"	Rail andit Badri Dutt Joshi Bahadur,		Do	
164	"	Pandit Bhawani Dutt Joshi B A LL B		do Almora	

165	Pandit Chandra Dutt Panday, Rais		Zamindari Almora	
166	Pandit Hargovind Pant, B A, LL B		Law, P O Rankhet, Almora	
167	Pandit Jamuna Dutt Panday		Contractor, V Kasoon, Almora	
168	Pandit Kamala Kant Joshi		Rais, Almora	
169	Mr Krishna Swami Ayer		Guardian to the Sons of R N P Narain Dutt Chinnel Saleb Almora	
170	Miss A Herrington	European	Teacher, Theosophical College	At a Public Meeting held at Benares on 19th Nov 1916
171	Mr A M Quazakeush	Musalman	S hool, Benares City	
172	Babu Bankey Bihari Varma	Hindu	Journalist, Theosophical Lodge, Benares City	
173	Babu Bhagwan Sahai	Kayestha		
174	Babu Beni Prasad	Hindu	Trader, Benares City	
175	Pandit Bhanu Rao Damle	Hindu	Zamindari and Priest, Durga Ghat Benares City	
176	Babu Bholu Nath Banerjee	Bengali Brahmin		
177	Babu Baleshwar Prasad, B A, LL B	Bengali Kayestha	Law, Vakul, High Court, Benares City	
178	Babu Charu Chandra Biswas	Kayestha	Law and Zamindari, Benares City	
179	Babu Durga Prasad, B A	Hindu	Lakhsa, Benares City	
180	Miss I Arundale	European	Theosophist, Theosophical Lodge, Benares City	
181	P Gaupat Krishna Gajjar	Hindu	Manager, Sri S I N Press, Benares City	
182	Babu Giridhar Das		Banker, Bhat ki Gully, Benares City	
183	Babu Gayapati Charan Singh		Teacher Theosophical School	
184	Babu Pandey Gulab Shanker		Larsh Balaji, Benares City	
185	Mr G S Arundale, M A	European	Theosophical Lodge Benares City	

Serial No.	Floctorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
186	Benares District Committee	Rao Gopal Das Shapuri	Hindu	Banker and Zemindar Kotwalpura Benares City	At a Public Meeting held at Benares on 19th Nov 1916
187	"	Babu Gauri Shankar Prasad B.A. LL.B.	Vaishya	Law and Zemindari, Bulanala, Benares City	
188	"	Pandit Govind Rao B.A. LL.B.	Hindu	Law Vakul Brahmaghat Benares City	
189	"	Shrimati Gopalabai Baijee	Brahmin	Teacher Benares City	
190	"	Mahashay Gokul Chandjee	Kshatri	Merchant and Banker, Lakshi Chaurara Benares City	"
191	"	Pandit Gopi Nath Bhatt	Hindu	Durga Ghat Benares City	
192	"	Babu Hanu Das Manik	Hindu	Service Benares City	
193	"	Babu Hanu Dass	Brahmin	Benares City	
194	"	Pandit Hanu Shankar Prasad Upadhyaya	Indian	Banker and Head Master, Shanker High School Benares City	"
195	"	Babu Hari Krishen B.A. LL.B.	European	Law High Court, Jaleswar, district Etah	
196	"	Miss H. Venke, Theosophist	Brahmin	Theosophical Lodge, Benares City	
197	"	Babu H. P. Roy Chaudhury M.A.	Brahmin	Teacher Theosophical Collegiate School Benares City	
198	"	Mr. H. V. Dignikar	Maharatta	Editor The Balabodhi, Balabodhi	"
199	"	Mr. J. J. S. Taraporewalla M.A. F.R.S.	Brahmin	Office Benares City	
200	"	Babu Jamma Das	Hindu	Central Hindu Collegiate School Benares City	
201	"	Jay Kishore	"	Bulanala Benares City	
202	"	Jagannath Prasad Khanna	"	Merchant Nidhi	"
203	"	" Kedar Nath Khandelwal B.A. LL.B.	"	Chauk	
				Law Vakul Murzapur	

204	Rai Krishna Das	Vaishya	Zamindar and Banker, Hastings House Benares Cantt Benares City
205	Rai Krishnaje	Hindu	Misra Pokhira Benares City
206	Babu Kali Das Manik		Hit Chaital Press
207	Pandit Krishna Rao Pawagi		Nandan Sahu Street
208	Babu Mangala Prasad M A P Sc		Assistant General Secretary, Theosophical Society Benares City Theosophical Lodge
209	Mr M B Wagle		Assistant Professor Central Hindu College Benares City
210	Pandit M G Kuntal	Brahmin	Banker and Zemindar Chaul Benares City
211	Pandit Nanda Kishore Pandey B Sc	Khatti	General Secretary Home Rule League Benares City
212	Babu Nanda Gopal Khanna	Brahmin	Zamindar Benares City
213	Mr P B Telang M A L L		Professor Central Hindu College Benares City
214	Pandit Purushottamjee Joshi	Bengali	Pleader and Zemindar New Road Benares City
215	Mr P Sheshadri M A	Hindu	Proprietor B B Khadi Kar & Co Brhmaghat Benares City
216	Babu Ramathir Nath Biswas		Medical Superintendent Theosophical College Benares City
217	Babu Raja Ram	Hindu	Theosophical Lodge Benares City Benares City
218	Mr Raghunath Rao Khadilkar		Medicine Bulanala Benares City
219	Mr R V Chansallad L M S		Teacher, Central Hindu Collegiate School Benares City
220	Mrs R M Wagle		Jogi Khana Lucknow
221	Pandit Ravi Shankar		
222	Dr Sobhag Ram L A M B D P H London		
223	Pandit Sanjayji Nagar	Nagar Brahmin	
224	Babu Sarjoo Prasad	Hindu	

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary, or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
225	Banaras Dist. C Committee.	B Shew Nath Prasad Beri, B A, LL.B		Law, Ramghat, Banaras City	At a Public Meeting held at Banaras on 19th Nov 1916
226	"	Miss S Ware		Theosophy, Theosophical Lodge, Banaras City	
227	"	Babu Sri Niwas Salieb	Hindu	Printer, Banaras City	
228	"	" Sri Prakash, B A, LL.B	"	Professor,	At a Public Meeting held at Bara Banki on 21st Dec 1916
229	"	" Shiva Prasad Gupta	"	Banker and Zamindar, Nandan Sahu Street, Banaras City	
230	"	Mr S Parbati Sham, B A, LL.B	"	Law, Vakul, Banaras City	
231	Bara Banki Dist. C Committee	Mr Mohamed Abdul Aziz, M A, LL.B	Islam	High Court, Bara Banki	
232	"	Sheikh Abdul Ali, Rais	"	Zamindar,	
233	"	Mr Hadshah Husein Siddique	"	Bar at Law, Begum Gunj	"
234	"	Mr Badra Uddin	"	Zamindar, Mitai	"
235	"	Pandit Ganga Prasad Shukla	Brahmin	Vakul	"
236	"	Babu Ifarl Narayan, Rais	Kshattri	Zamindar,	"
237	"	" Krishna Nand, B A, LL.B	Kayastha	Vakul,	"
238	"	" Kishen Lal, B A, LL.B	Kshattri	"	"
239	"	Pandit Kanahaya Lal Shukla B A, LL.B	Brahmin	"	"
240	"	Babu Mata Prasad, Pleader	Kurmi	"	"
241	"	M Nawab Ali, B A, LL.B, Pleader	Islam	"	"
242	"	Babu Prithi Nath, B A, LL.B	Kshattri	"	"

243	Thakur Raghu Nath Singh, B A, LL B	"	" and Zamindar	"	"
244	Babu Roop Narain, B A, LL B	Kayestha	"	"	"
245	" Rameshwari Prasad, F A, LL B	"	"	"	"
246	Ram Chandra, B A, LL B	Khattin	"	"	"
247	" Ram Autar	Kayestha	Service	"	"
248	" Ram Narain	"	"	"	"
249	Chaudhuri Shew Narain, B A, LL B	"	Vakil	"	"
250	Thakur Sooraj Bux Singh, B A, LL B	Kurmi	"	"	"
251	Mr. Shiva Nand Misra, B L	Khattin	"	"	"
252	S Vilayat Ali, B L	Brahmin	"	"	"
253	Babu Brij Nandan Prasad	Islam	"	"	"
254	" Bhagwati Prasad	Kayestha	Manager, Kayestha Bank, Arrah	"	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Basti on 10th Dec. 1916
255	" Guru Prasad, L Sc, LL B	"	Zamindar, Basti	"	"
256	" Kashi Prasad Roy, Pleader	Agarwala	Vakil, "	"	"
257	Thakur Murat Singh, B A, LL B	Brahmin	Pleader, "	"	"
258	Babu Pateshwar Prasad	Khattin	Vakil, Basti	"	"
259	" Raghunandan Prasad, B A, LL B	Kayestha	"	"	At a Public Meeting held at Basti on 14th Dec 1916.
260	Lal Rudra Nath Singh	"	"	"	"
261	M Thakur Prasad	Brahmin	Zamindar, Dhongarwan, Basti	"	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow
262	Babu Raghuraj Prasad Gupta	Kayestha	Government Pensioner, Basti City	"	" held at Basti.
263	Pandit Triloki Nath Kaul	"	Medical Practitioner, Bahraich	"	" held at Bahraich on 15th Dec, 1916.
		Kashmiri Brahmin	Pledership	"	"

Serial No.	Pictorial	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected.
264	Bulandshahr Association	Pandit Chuni Lal Sharma, M.A., B.S.	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner, Bulandshahr	At a General Meeting of "B" Association held on 13th Dec 1916.
265	"	Lala Giridhari Lal, M.A., LL.B.	Vaish	Law, Vakul, Bulandshahr	"
266	"	" Gokal Chand	"	Zamindar and Rais, Khatunji, Muzaf-farnagar	"
267	"	" Jwala Prasad, B.L.	"	Law, Pleader, Bulandshahr	"
268	"	Lala Kunwar Prasad, B.A., LL.B.	"	"	"
269	"	" Lakshman Chandra, M.A., LL.B.	"	Law, Vakul, High Court, Bulandshahr,	"
270	"	Babu Mohan Lal, B.A., LL.B.	"	"	"
271	"	Pandit Nanak Chand Sharma, M.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	"	"
272	"	Ram Prasad Sharma	"	Mukhtiar	"
273	"	" Raghbar Dayal Gaur	"	Zamindar and Banker, Bulandshahr	"
274	"	" Sohan Lal	"	Law, Pleader, Bulandshahr	"
275	Bareilly Dist C. Committee.	Mr Anand Bahadur	Kayastha	Zamindar Yakuti, Bareilly	Elected in District Congress Committee meeting held at Lucknow, on 24th Dec. 1916
276	"	Mr Chaturpat Rai, Rais	"	"	" Bareilly
277	"	Babu Chhawal Bihari Kapoor	Khatun	Vakul, Bhanpore, Bareilly	"
278	"	Mr Jai Ram Saxena, M.A., LL.B.	Kayastha	" and Zamindar, Bhanpore, Bareilly	"
279	"	Babu Jwala Prasad	"	" Bhanpore, Bareilly	"
280	"	Mr, Jai Narain Chaudhary, B.L.	"	" and Zamindar, Bhanpore Bareilly	"

281	"	Pandit Raghu Nandan Prasad, B.A.	...	Brahmin.	Zemindari, Garhga, a, Bareilly	"
282	"	Babu Sawdapada Mukerjee, B.A., LL.B.	...	Bengali Brahmin	Vakil. Biharijore, Bareilly	"
283	"	Babu Sham Bihari Lal Johri, B.A., B.L.	...	Kayestha.	" Bhoor, Bareilly	"
284	Cawnpore People's Asso- ciation,	Babu Avadh Behari Lal, B.A.	...	...	Teacher, Theosophical School, Cawn- pore	At a Meeting of the People's Association held at Cawnpore on 16th December, 1916.
285	"	The Hon. Rai Bahadur Anand Swarup	...	Kayestha	Pleader, Civil Lines, Cawnpore	"
286	"	Mr. L. Arathoon	...	European	Manager, Alliance Bank of Simla	"
287	"	Pandit Ajodhya Nath Tewari	...	Brahmin	Pleader, Cawnpore	"
288	"	Mr. A. Sharma	...	...	Teacher, Theosophical School, Cawn- pore	"
289	"	Babu Bisheshwar Nath Kapoor	...	Khatti.	Merchant, Filkhann Bazar, Cawnpore,	"
290	"	Babu Brijendra Swarup, B.A.	...	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court	"
291	"	Mr. B. N. Sen	...	Vaid.	Merchant and Municipal Member, The Mall, Cawnpore	"
292	"	Pandit Basdeo Tripathi	...	Brahmin	Tenant Nauha, Cawnpore	"
293	"	Babu Bishambhar Nath	...	Khatti	Private Service, Filkhann,	"
294	"	Babu Brij Narain Savenza, B.A., LL.B.	...	Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court,	"
295	"	" Benarsi Lal, M.A., LL.B.	...	"	" " "	"
296	"	" Brij Mohan Nath Moorthi	...	Vaish	Merchant, Chapper Mahal,	"
297	"	" Brij Bihari Shukla	...	Brahmin	"	"
298	"	" Buddhu Lal	...	Khatti	Banker, Chapper Mahal,	"
299	"	Mr. B. P. Srivastava	...	Kayestha.	Civil Lines,	"
300	"	Pandit Balbhadr Nath Shukla	...	Brahmin	"	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
301	Cawnpore People's Association.	Rao Bahadur Babu Bishambhar Nath, Honorary Magistrate.	Khatri	Banker and Zamindar, Cawnpore ..	At a meeting of the People's Association held at Cawnpore on 16th Dec. 1916.
302	"	Babu Basanta Kumar Bose, B. L.	Bengali, Kayastha.	Pleader ..	
303	"	Mr H D Mehrotra	Khatri	Merchant, Chaulk ..	
304	"	Pandit Bindeshwar Lal Misra	Brahmin	Zamindar, Mandhara ..	
305	"	Mr. Babu Sahay	Kayastha.	Teacher, Theosophical School ..	
306	"	Babu Bansil Dhar Mehrotra	Khatri.	Zamindar, Farsh, Kanaul, district Farrukhabad.	
307	"	Lala Chunnal Lal	Valsh.	Merchant, The Mall, Cawnpore ..	
308	"	Mr C K. Badyarl	Khatri.	Cloth Merchant ..	
309	"	Babu Changa Mul	"	Merchant, Hatis ..	
310	"	Babu Cheda Lal	Hindu	C/o Trade Bank, Lal. ..	
311	"	Mr C V. Panik	Valsh.	Merchant, Generalganj ..	
312	"	L. Des Das	Khatri.	- Chaulk. ..	
313	"	Pandit Durga Prasad Bajpal	Brahmin.	Rais, Kailas Temple, ..	
314	"	" Debi Prasad Shukla, B. A.	"	Professor, Christ Church College, Cawnpore.	
315	"	" Debi Prasad Devidel	"	Private Service, Cawnpore ..	
316	"	Babu Durga Prasad	Marwarl Hindu.	Merchant, Generalganj ..	
317	"	Pandit Gajanan Gaer	Brahmin.	" Old Nachghar ..	

318	Mr G N Mehrotra	Khattin	Chauk
319	Babu Gopi Nath	Vaish	Generalganj
320	Babu Gauri Shanker Gupta		Agent Cawnpore
321	Babu Ganga Din	Vaish	Merchant and Banker Cantonment Cawnpore
322	Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi	Kayestha	Editor Pratap, Illhana Bazar Cawnpore
323	Mr Gulab Singh	Jain	Jeweller Cawnpore
324	Lala Hukum Chand	Vaish	Contractor, Chappar Mahal Cawnpore
325	Babu Har Prasad		Merchant Generalganj
326	Babu H B Upadhyaya	Brahmin	Asstt Editor The Saraswati, Cawnpore
327	Babu Heera Lal Kapoor	Khattin	Pleader Cawnpore
328	Jaggunnath Prasad	Vaishya	Merchant Chauk Cawnpore
329	Lala Jugul Kishore		Generalganj
330	Babu Jaynarain Das	Khattin	Civil Lines
331	Jawahar Lal Jain	Vaishya	Chauk
332	Jagat Natarain		
333	Dr J N Banerjee	Bengalee Brahmin	Medical Practitioner The Mall Cawnpore
334	Lala Jiwan Lal	Vaishya	Merchant Generalganj Cawnpore
335	Dr Jehar Lal		Medical Practitioner, Civil Lines Cawnpore
336	Mr K R Deobhankar	Theosophist	Teacher Theosophical College Cawnpore
337	Mr Kuwar Bahadur Nigam	Kayestha	Vakil Cawnpore
338	Mr K J Shah	Vaishya	C I and Coy Cawnpore

Serial No	Flectorite	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
339	Cawnpore People's Association	Lala Kandhaya Lal Broker	Hindu	Broker Tilkhana Bazar Cawnpore	At a meeting of People's Association held at Cawnpore on 16th Dec 1916
340		Babu Kallu Prasad	Khattin	Trustee Gyan Prasad Estate Cawnpore	
341		Mahashaya Kashi Nath		Manager Marwardi School Cawnpore	
342		Babu Kailash Nath	Vaish	Banker Chauk Cawnpore	
343		Lachmi Dhar		Banker Colonelgunj Cawnpore	
344		Pandit Jayram Narain Misra	Brahmin	Commission Agent Tilkhana Bazar, Cawnpore	At a meeting held at Cawnpore on 16th December 1916
345		Babu Lachman Prasad	Vaish	Zamindar and Banker Cawnpore	
346		Lalithi Mul		Merchant Generalgunj Cawnpore	
347		Mr Mohammad Shariff	Islam	Merchant and Proprietor Shonda Tannery Cawnpore	
348		Mr M G Desai	Brahmin	Cloth Merchant Cawnpore	
349		Babu Mauni Lal	Khattin	Merchant Generalgunj Cawnpore	
350		Rai Sahib Dr Murari Lal M L	Vaishya	Medical Practitioner Civil Lines Cawnpore	
351		Pandit Mahesh Dutt Shukla B A LLB	Brahmin	Vakil High Court Cawnpore	
352		Mr Murlidhar Bajpai		Service Cawnpore	
353		Lala Matadin	Vaishya	Merchant Generalgunj Cawnpore	
354		Mr Musaddi Lal Rustogi		47 Civil Lines	
355		Babu Narain Kishore Helder		Leader Cawnpore	

356	"	Babu Narain Parslad Nigam, B A, LL B	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, Cawnpore	...
357	"	Mr. N. G. Paranjape, B. Sc.	Brahmin	Head Master, Theosophical High School, Cawnpore	High
358	"	Dr. N. R. Deobhanker, L. M. S.	Theosophist	Medicine, Cawnpore	...
359	"	Mr. P. N. Banerji	Bengali Brahmin	Merchant, Patkapore, Cawnpore	...
360	"	Babu Nemi Chand	Jain.	Merchant, Banker and Zemindar, Chap- per Mahal	...
361	"	Mr N P Bharadwaj	Brahmin	Colour Merchant, Cawnpore	...
362	"	Babu Nandan Paushad	Khattiri.	Banker, Chatai Mahal, Cawnpore	...
363	"	Babu Narasingh Das, B A, LL B	"	Manager, The Punjab National Bank, Cawnpore.	...
364	"	Babu Fanna Lal Jain	Vaish.	Merchant, Chauk, Cawnpore	...
365	"	Babu Peary Lal	"	" Generalgunj, Cawnpore	...
366	"	Dr. P. L. Jha, L. M. S.	Brahmin.	Medicine, The Mall, Cawnpore	...
367	"	Babu Prag Narain	Khattiri.	Piece-goods importer, Chauk, Cawnpore	...
368	"	Mr Pratab Narain Sinha	Kayestha	Teacher, Beconganj, Cawnpore	...
369	"	Babu Raghubath Rao	Brahmin	Service, Cawnpore	...
370	"	Dr. R C Bhattacharjee, M. B.	Bengali Brahmin	Medicine, Cawnpore	...
371	"	Babu Ranji Das	Vaish.	Service, Cawnpore	...
372	"	Babu Ram Saroop	"	Merchant, Chauk, Cawnpore	...
373	"	Babu Ram Chandra	"	" Civil Lines, "	...
374	"	Seth Ram Gopal	"	" Patka Bazar "	...
375	"	Babu Raj Narain	Khattiri	" Hatir, "	...
376	"	Babu Raj Narain Bangsa, B A, LL B	Vaish.	Vakil, High Court, "	...

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
377	Cawnpore People's Assocn	Babu Ram Kishore Kapoor	Khattari	Piece goods importer Cawnpore	At a public meeting held at Cawnpore on 16th Dec 1916
378		Babu Ram Narayan	Vaish	Banker and Treasurer Banl of Bengal Cawnpore	
379		Pandit Ram Prasad Misra	Brahmin	Editor Jivan and Managing Director Trade Banl Cawnpore	
380		Mrs Ramabai N Paratype	Maharatta Brahmin	Civil Lines Cawnpore	
381		Babu Sandolal Lal	Kshattri	Private service	
382		Mr S C Chatterjee M A	Anglo Indian	Professor C C College Cawnpore	
383		Babu Sham Lal M A LL B	Kayastha	Retired Deputy Collector Talagdar, & Vakil High Court Cawnpore.	
384		Mr S M Arif	Islam	Bar at Law Civil Lines Cawnpore	
385		Babu Satish Chandra	Hindu	Rais and Zemundar	
386		Babu Suraj Narain Mehrotra	Khattari	Trader The Mall	
387		Mr S D Seth B Sc		Professor C C College	
388		Dr Sham Lal	Brahmin	Medicine Generalgunj	
389		Mr S L Mehrotra	Khattari	Merchant Chauk	
390		Babu Shew Prasad Mehrotra		The Mall	
391		Babu Sham Bihari L A LL B	Kayastha	Vakil High Court	
392		Pandit Sooraj Nath Wanchoo B A LL B	Kashmiri Brahmin		
393		Lala Sri Kishen	Khattari	Commission Agent	
394		Dr Sham Manohar Shukla	Brahmin	Zemundar Auraya Post Office district Faisal	

395	-	Pandit Bhow Narain Misra	...	Brahmin.	Manager, Pratap Press, Cawnpore	...
396	-	Babu S. C. Jain, B.A., LL. B.	...	Vaish.	Merchant, Chaulk	...
397	-	Babu Shambhu Nath Tandon	...	Khatti	Vakil, High Court	...
398	-	Mr. S. C. Chatterjee, LL. B.	...	Bengali Brahmin.	"	...
399	-	Pandit Saligram	.	Brahmin.	"	...
400	-	Lala Sham Sunder	.	Vaishya.	Merchant, Generalgunj	...
401	-	Mr. Shiba Lal	..	Aryan	Fraser, 47, Civil Lines	...
402	-	Pandit Sheedarshan Nath Panday		Brahmin	Chaubeypore, distict	...
403	-	Pandit Sheo Nandan Misra		"	Vaid, Yolkhana	...
404	-	Babu Thakur Prasad	...	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court	...
405	-	Mr. T. Seeha Chala Rau, B. A.	..	Brahmin.	President, Theosophical Lodge, Bezpada	...
406	-	Mr. P. Tungeshwar Misra	..	"	Zamindar, Mandhana, Cawnpore	...
407	-	Pandit Tirbhuvan Nath Raina, B.A., LL. B.	..	"	Vakil, High Court, Cawnpore	...
408	-	Babu Tripathi Nath	...	Khatti	Private service	...
409	-	Mr. Ujainthi	..	Bhatia.	Merchant, Generalgunj	...
410	-	Mr. V. V. Sulladar Nath	..	Lingayat.	Agent, Martin and Co.	...
411	-	Babu Vikramajit Singh, B.A., LL. B.	...	Khatti	Vakil	...
412	Police District Comm. Com.	Lala Bankey Lal	...	Vaish. Agarwala.	Zemindar and Merchant, Etah	...
413	-	Lala Babu Ram Verma	...	Kayastha.	Pledership	...
414	-	Lala Babu Ram Gupta	...	Vaish.	Zamindar, Kargunj	...
415	-	Rao Kumar Narain, Kals	...	Kayastha.	Zemindar, Sakht, district Etah	...

At a public meeting on the 9th
December, 1916.

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
416	Etah District Congress Committee	Lala Lalta Prasad	Vaish	Zamindar	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1916
417		Lala Niranjan Lal	Vaish Agarwal	and Merchant	
418		Mr P M Sharma	Brahmin	Contractor	
419		Lala Shyam Lal	Vaish Agarwal	Zamindar and Banker	
420	Etawah District Congress Committee	Lala Suraj Prasad	Bhora		11th Dec 16
421		Pandit Balesh var Prasad Misra	Brahmin	Rais and Banker Etawah	
422		Pandit Chiranjil Lal B A		Rais Mohalla Jaipura	
423		Ojha Daryao Singh		Zamindar Nasirpur	
424		Munshi Dwarka Prasad		Mukhtar	
425		Syed Gulam Panjtan Shamshad B A LL B	Muslim	Vakil High Court and Rais	"
426		Babu Gaur Shankar Tandan B A LL B	Khattin	Vakil	"
427		Pandit Hazari Lal Chaubey	Brahmin	Zamindar village Chandwar	"
428		Ti van Hardeo Singh Honorary Magistrate		Rais and Zamindar	"
429		Pandit Har Dayal		Zamindar	"
430		Babu Joti S varoop	Tamoli	Cloth Merchant	"
431	"	Chaudhri Lakshman Singh	Brahmin	Zamindar Rais and Banker	"
432		Babu Madan Lal	Agarwal	Pleader	"

433	"	Chaubey Madan Mohan	...	Brahmin.	"	...	"	"
434	"	Lala Madan Lal	...	Khattri	Trader, Prohitan Tola	...	"	"
435	"	Pandit Ram Narayan Shukla	-	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Bithor	...	"	"
436	"	Pandit Raghunath Sahai Shukla	...	"	"	...	"	"
437	"	Bhatelay Shiam Behari Lal	...	"	Hony. Magistrate, Rais and Zamindar	...	"	"
438	"	Babu Surya Naram Agarwal	...	Vaish.	Trade, Old City	...	"	"
439	"	Babu Zorawar Singh Nigam, B.A., Sc.	...	Kayestha.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner...	...	"	"
440	"	Babu Amar Nath	...	"	Mukhtar	...	"	"
441	"	Dr. Amba Prasad, L. M. S.	...	"	Hony. Surgeon, District Hospital	...	"	"
442	"	Mr. Jibu Ram Saksena, B. A.	...	"	Vakil, High Court and Municipal Com- missioner.	...	"	"
443	"	Babu Bhagwati Prasad	...	"	Pleader, Farrukhabad	...	"	10th Dec, '16.
444	"	Pandit Basant Lal Tiwari	...	Brahmin.	Money-lender	...	"	22nd Dec, '16.
445	"	Pandit Bal Govind	...	"	Trade	...	"	"
446	"	Pandit Bhechan Lal Dubey, B.A., LL.D.	...	"	Vakil	...	"	10th Dec, '16.
447	"	Pandit Chandika Prasad	...	"	Private Medical Practitioner	...	"	"
448	"	Babu Durga Prasad, B.A., LL.D.	...	Kayestha.	Vakil	...	"	"
449	"	Babu Girdhari Lal Mehra, B.A.	...	Khattri.	"	...	"	"
450	"	Pandit Ganga Sahay	...	Brahmin.	"	...	"	"
451	"	Pandit Jagdishwar Prasad Bhattacharya	...	"	"	...	"	"
452	"	Pandit Lalman Bhattacharya, B. A.	...	"	"	...	"	"
453	"	Pandit Lakshmi Narain	...	"	"	...	"	"
					Mukhtar and Zamindar, Kanauj	...	"	22nd Dec, '16.

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
454	Farrukabad District Congress Committee	Pandit Mulchand Dubey B.A. LL.B.	Brahmin	Vakil	At a Meeting held on the 10th December 1916
455		Lala Mangal Prasad Rastogi	Rastogi	Trade	
456		Chaubey Mann Lal B.A. LL.B.	Brahmin	Vakil Kamgari	
457		Chaubey Panna Lal	Vaish	Vakil Fatehgarh	" 22nd Dec 1916
458		Babu Radha Mohan	Kayastha	Trade	10th Dec 1916
459		Babu Ram Narain	Brahmin	Zamindar	"
460		Babu Rameshwar Dayal	Kayastha	Mukhtar	22nd Dec 1916
461		Lal Sham Prasad Misra	Brahmin	Pleader	10th Dec 1916
462		Babu Shyam Narain	Kayastha	Mukhtar	22nd Dec 1916
463		Babu Shambhu Narain	Brahmin	Vakil	10th Dec 1916
464		Pandit Shivadhar Avasthi	Brahmin	Pleader	22nd Dec 1916
465		Babu Swaroop Chandra B.A. LL.B.	Vaish Agarwal	Vakil	10th Dec 1916
466		Babu Sri Krishna Chandra	Mahajan Vaish	Trade Pioneer Saltpetre Works	"
467		Mr Tej Krishna	Kayastha	Teacher Private School	"
468	Farrukabad District Congress Committee	M. Mohammad Abdul Rahman Khan	Muslim	Biswedar Hamid Manzil Fyzabad	At a meeting held at Fyzabad on 16th December 1916
469		Mr Abdul Walid Hussain	Kayastha	Bisawadar Hamid Manzil	"
470		Babu Raj Kishore Khan B.A. LL.B.	Kayastha	Vakil Fyzabad	"

471	"	Pandit Bansgopal Bajpai, B.A., LL.B.	...	Brahmin.	"	"	...	"
472	"	Babu Girdhar Lal Vaish	...	Vaish.	"	"	...	"
473	"	Mr. Itebkar Ali	...	Islam.	Zamindar	"	...	"
474	"	Pandit Jai Jai Ram, B.A., LL.D.	...	Brahmin.	Vakil	"	...	"
475	"	Pandit Kishen Nath Kaul, B.A., LL.D.	...	Kashmiri Brahmin	"	"	...	"
476	"	Bhaya Kampta Prasad	...	Khattri.	Zemindar, Akbarpur, Fyzabad	"	...	"
477	"	Mr K. R. Dave, B.L.	...	Hindu.	Vakil	"	...	"
478	"	Bhai Kaudhai Prashad	...	Hindu	Rais	"	...	"
479	"	Thakur Lal Bhari Ji	...	Khattri.	Vakil	"	...	"
480	"	Bhaya Ladli Prasad	...	"	Zemindar	Fyzabad	...	"
481	"	" Mahadeo Pershad	...	"	"	"	...	"
482	"	Babu Mahadeo Pershad	...	Kayestha	Pleader	"	...	"
483	"	Thakur Mahadeo Singh, B.A.	...	Khattri	"	"	...	"
484	"	Babu Mahendra Deb Varma	...	Khattri	"	"	...	"
485	"	" Narasingh Nath, B.A.	...	Hindu.	Wasikadar	"	...	"
486	"	" Narendra Deva Varma, B.A., LL.B.	...	Khattri	Vakil	"	...	"
487	"	Bhaya Nageshwar Prasad Tandon	...	"	Zemindar, Sahazadpur	"	...	"
488	"	Thakur Naresit Singh, B.L.	...	"	Pleader	"	...	"
489	"	Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru	...	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Legal Practitioner	"	...	"
490	"	Babu Raghunath Prasad	...	Kayestha.	"	"	...	"
491	"	Mr. Ramsaran Sinha	...	"	"	"	...	"

Serial No	Electorate	Name of full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
492	Fyzabad District Congress Committee	Babu Ram K. Shen B. A.	Hindu	Legal Practitioner Fyzabad	At a public meeting held on 16th December 1916.
493		Babu Sunder Lal	Khatti	Municipal Commissioner	"
494		" S. Leo Narain Mehrotra		Banker	
495		" Sukhdeo Prasad B. A.	Kayastha	Vakil High Court	
496		Sitapat Ram		"	
497		Mr Sarfaraz Ali	Islam	Bar at Law	"
498		Babu Sham Lal	Vaish	Leader	
499		Bhaya S. Leo Prasad	Khatti	Commander Akbarpur	
500		Sh. va. Shauker Prasad		Commander and Vice President District Board Fyzabad	"
501	"	Sheo Prasad Khanna	Aryan	Merchant	"
502	"	Babu Triloki Nath Srivastava		Tanda District	"
503		Babu Triloki Nath Kapoor	Hindu	Banker and Zemindar	"
504	Gorakhpur Public meeting	Ambica Prasad	Hindu	Legal Gorakhpur	At a public meeting held at Gorakhpur on 24th December 1916
505	"	Babu Adya Prasad Srivastava B. A.	Kayastha.	Municipal Commissioner Gorakhpur	on 21st November 1916.
506		Babu Abhaya Charan Singh	"	Vakil and Rais	"
507		Babu Bhagwan Prasad B. A. B. Sc.	"	" Gorakhpur	"
508		Babu Prasad	Hindu	Cloth Merchant	"

Serial No.	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
530	Gonda District C Committee	Rat Sai b Krishna Prasad B A LL B	Kayestha	Vakil Gonda	At a public meeting held on 17th December 1916.
531		Babu Lakshmi Narain B A LL B		"	
532		Mr Munna Lal	Aryan	Medical Practitioner	
533		Mr Raghu Nath Sahai	Kayestha	Leader Gonda	"
534		Babu Sant Diksh B A LL B	"		"
535	"	Babu Sarju Prasad Bhattacharya	Hindu		At a public meeting held at Lucknow on 25th December 1916
536	"	Mr Triambakeswar B A LL B	Kayestha	"	
537		Kunwar Vishva Nath	Agarwal	Zemindar Hamirpur	
538	Hamirpur Public Meeting	Lala Dan Dayal			
539		Mr Kashi Nath Rai B A	Brahmin	Land	"
540		Babu Parmeshwar Dayal B A	Kayestha	"	"
541		Babu Shiva Prasad B A LL B	"	"	At a public meeting held on 3rd December 1916.
542	Hardoi District Congress Committee	Babu Avadh Bihari Lal Pandey B A LL B	Khatti	Vakil Hardoi	
543		Sardar Amar Singh M C P S	Sikh	Private Medical Practitioner, Hardoi	
544		Pandit Brij Mohan Narain Kaul	Kashmiri Brahmin	Zemindar district Hardoi	"
545		Tilakur Baldeo Singh	Rajput	of Matlija	"
546		Babu Baldeo Prasad	Valsh	" and Leader	"

547	Thakur Bhaba Bhuti Singh	Rajput	" and Member, Dist Board, Hardoi	"
548	Mr. Bhagwan Das Gupta	Vaish	" and House Proprietor, and Secretary Sarawati Club, Hardoi	"
549	Pandit Bachoo Lal Dube	Brahmin	Vakil, Hardoi	"
550	Mr. Babu Ram	Rustogi	Merchant, Farrukhabad	...
551	Mr. Durga Prasad	"	"	"
552	Munshi Gandan Lal	Kayestha	Zemindar, Gopamoa, Hardoi	...
553	Babu Hindai Narain	Hindu	Mukhtar	"
554	Thakur Hem Singh B.A., LL.B.	Rajput	Vakil and Zemindar	"
555	Babu Jugal Kishore Seth, B.A., LL.B.	Khattiri	"	"
556	Babu Jaggan Nath Singh	Rajput	Zemindar, Barkherwa	"
557	Pandit Khushi Ram Duhe	Brahmin	" Bilgram	"
558	Babu Mohan Lal Tandon	Khattiri	Merchant, Sadar Bazar	...
559	Babu Manni Lal, M.A., LL.B.	Kayestha	Vakil	"
560	Babu Mata Prasad Saksena, B.A.	"	Pleader and Hony Secretary, Bar Association, Hardoi	"
561	Mr. Maya Prasad Avasthi	Brahmin	Merchant, Bazar	"
562	Thakur Mashal Singh Somvanshi	Rajput	Zemindar and Private Secretary, Raja of Katari, Hardoi	"
563	Mr. Mohammad Akbar	Islam	Bar-at Law, Hardoi	"
564	Babu Narayan Prasad Gupta	Vaish	Merchant and Banker, Railway Bazar, Hardoi	"
565	Babu Parmeshwari Dayal B.A.	Kayestha	Pleader, Hardoi	...
566	Babu Peary Lal Rustogi	Rustogi	Cloth Merchant, Sadar Bazar, Hardoi	"
567	Pandit Raghunath Dayal Dube	Brahmin	Pleader and Zemindar, Bilgram	"

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
568	Hardoi District Congress Committee	Rai Bahadur Asthana B.A. LL.B.	Kayastha	Vakil	At a public meeting held at Hardoi on 3rd Dec. 1916.
569		Pandit Raghubar Dayal Bajpai B.L.	Brahmin	and Zemindar	"
570		Pandit Ram Narain Shukla B.A. LL.B.	Rajput	"	"
571		Thakur Surendra Vikram Singh	Brahmin	Bilgram	"
572		Pandit Sit Ram Dube		Trader Sadar Barar	"
573		Pandit Surendra Nath Mishra B.A. LL.B.		Vakil	"
574		Pandit Sheo Bhajan Lal Mishra	Kayastha	"	"
575		Babu Sri Kushen Chandra B.A. LL.B.	Khattar	"	"
576		Babu Shiva Narayan Tandon B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha	Vakil and Zemindar Shahabad, district Hardoi	"
577		Babu Shanker Sahai Srivastava B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha	"	"
578		Pandit Trijig Nath Kaul B.A. LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahmin	"	"
579		Pandit Ujjain Narain Wali	Rajput	" and Zemindar "	"
580		Thakur Ujjagar Singh B.A. LL.B.	Kayastha	Pleader Banda	"
581	Jhansi District Congress Committee	Babu Anandi Prasad	Brahmin	18 Barana, Allahabad	At a meeting held on 8 12 1916
582		Pandit Amar Nath B.A., LL.B.	Thakur	Bara Gola Jhansi	"
583		Thakur Ajudhia Singh B.A.	Kayastha	Vakil High Court Lalitpur	"
584		Babu Badri Prasad Varma B.A. LL.B.			

585	Babu Brindaban Lal Varma, B.A., LL.B.		Najahu Bazar, Jhansi	"
586	Babu Bodh Raj Sahny, B.A. LL.B.	Khattri	Vakil, High Court, Sipri Bazar, Jhansi.	"
587	Seth Chand Mal	Jan	Merchant, Bazaza, Jhansi	"
588	Pandit Deoky Nandan Chaubey, B.A.	Brahmun	Vakil, High Court, Lalitpur	"
589	Mr Debi Din	Vaishya	Proprietor, Union Press, Jhansi	"
590	Babu Girdhar Gopal Tandon	Khattri	Merchant, Sanyar Gali	"
591	Mr G B Purank	Brahmun	Landholder, Jhansi	"
592	Seth Ghanasham Dass	Vaish	Merchant, Bazaza Jhansi	"
593	Gundi Lal	Jan	Artia, Hardy Gunj, Jhansi	"
594	Kumar Harprasad Singh, B.A., LL.B.	Thakur	Vakil, High Court, Banda	"
595	Babu Jagadish Sahai Mathur	Kayestha	" " Sipri Bazar	"
596	Babu Jagadish Sahai, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmun	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner Jhansi	"
597	Pandit Kailash Narain Dobe	Khattri	" and Vakil, High Court, Jhansi	"
598	Babu Kanhiya Lal	Vaish	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Hardy Gunj, Jhansi	"
599	Seth Murlidhar B.A.	Kayestha	Banker and Zemindar, Jhansi	"
600	Babu Mukat Bihari Lal	Brahmun	Mukhtar, Khatriana, Jhansi	"
601	Mr Nripendra Kumar Sanyal, B.Sc., LL.B.		Vakil, High Court, Jhansi	"
602	Mr Narayan Krishna Vidi		192, Talaya Mohalla, Jhansi	"
603	Babu Vand Kishore Saksena, M.A., LL.B.	Kayestha	Mukhtar, Jhansi	"
604	Pandit Raghunath Vinay aka Dhulekar M.A., LL.B.	Brahmun	Vakil, High Court and Vice Chairman, Municipal Board Jhansi	"
605	Seth Ram Nath	Vaish	Banker and Merchant, Manik Chauk	"

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
606	Jhansi District C Committee	Babu Ram Narain Tandon	Khatti	General Merchant and Commission Agent, Sipi Bazar, Jhansi	At a meeting held on 8th December 1916
607	"	Babu Raj Narain Saxena B.A. LL.B.	Kayestha.	Pleader and Honorary Secretary, District Congress Committee Jhansi	"
608	"	Babu Sital Prasad	Kayestha	Mukhtar Taksal Jhansi	"
609	"	Babu Shama Charan Nigam	"	Leader and Vice Chairman, Municipal Board Jhansi	"
610	"	The Hon ble Rai Shanker Sahai Sahib	"	Vakil High Court, Jhansi	"
611	"	Dr. Sayoo Prasad Dube	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner Jhansi	"
612	"	B Satish Chandra Banerjee B.A. LL.B.	"	Vakil High Court Municipal Commission Jhansi	"
613	Lakhimpur District C Committee	Pandit Avadh Bihari Lal Tripathi	Kayestha.	Service Bankata Debi Street Kheri Lakhimpur	At a meeting held on 10th December 1916
614	"	Babu Brahmaadin Saxena B.A. LL.B.	"	Vakil P O Kheri Lakhimpur	"
615	"	Pandit Balbhadra Prasad Shukla B.A. B.L.	Brahmin	High Court "	"
616	"	Babu Bansu Dhar Saxena	Kayestha	"	"
617	"	Babu Harnam Sunder Lal Saxena B.A. LL.B.	"	"	"
618	"	Babu Harbans Rai Sinvastava	"	"	"
619	"	Babu Kedar Nath Saxena	"	Trader, Proprietor of Saxena and Sons	"
620	"	Syed Mustafa Husain Sahib	Islam	Zemindar and Raus, P O, Katwara, Kheri	"
621	"	Babu Mohan Lal B.A. LL.B.	Hindu	Vakil, Kheri	"
622	"	Pandit Murlidhar Misra, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Vakil, P O Kheri, Lakhimpur	"
623	"	Babu Maharaj Bahadoor Varma, B.A. LL.B.	Kayestha	Pleader "	"

624	Indit Murlidhar Sharma B A LL B	Brahmin	Vakil	
625	Babu Niranjan Lal Tandon B A LL B	Khattri		
626	Babu Peary Lal Garga	Vaishya	Private Medical Practitioner Lakh m	
627	Babu Ram Narain Lal Saxena	Kayestha	Contractor P O Klien Lakhimpur	
628	Mr Ramkishore Seth	Khattri	Rais and Zemindar	"
629	Pandit Ram Saroop Panday B A LL B	Brahmin	Vakil	"
630	Babu Sham Lal	Kayestha	Leader	
631	Indit Shiva Narain Shukla B A LL B	Brahmin		
632	Babu Sita Ram B A	Vaishya	Service	
633	Pandit Sooraj Narain Dikshit M A LL B	Brahmin	Vakil High Court	
634	Mr Abdul Majid B A	Islam	Author Golagunj Lucknow	People's Association Meetings held on 10th and 17th December 1916
635	Babu Anand Bahari Lal	Kayestha	Proprietor Oudh Seed Stores	
636	Moulvi Mohammad Azahar Ali	Islam	Leader	
637	Mr Syed Ahmad Husain			
638	Mr Ali Bhoj Janyee		Merchant	
639	Mirza Abid Husain B A LT		Landholder	
640	Babu Abinash Chandra Ghosh	Bengali Kayestha	Pleader Hewett Road Lucknow	
641	Hakim Abdul Karim	Islam	Jhawar Tola	on 22 12 1916
642	Indit Anand Narain Bahadur F T S	Hindu	Vakil Golagunj Lucknow	
643	Pandit Brijnath Sargam A LL B	Kashmiri Brahmin	Vakil High Court Rani Katra	
644	Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava B A LL B	Kayestha		

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
645	Lucknow Peoples Assn	Mr B K Bose B A	Bengali	Engineer	Peoples Assn meeting held at Lucknow on 22nd Dec 1916.
646		Pandit Brij Narain Tankha n i	Kayastha	Vakil High Court i Waj Road	
647		Babu B sheshwar Dyal Trivedi	Kashmiri Brahmin	Contractor Ganesh Gany Lucknow	
648		Dr Br j Mohan Lal			"
649		Babu Bihambhar Nath Srivastava i A LL. B	Kayastha	Vakil	"
650		Mr B B Chandra		Bar at law	"
651		Babu Bhairon Pershad		Printer Lal nagany	"
652		Land t Br j Narain Chakbast n A i L L i	Hindu	Vakil 45 Goligunj	"
653		Babu Bansu Dihar Varma		Merchant Yehingunj	"
654		Babu Balmakund		Writer The Advocate	"
655		Mr C S Rai g A yer	Madras	Talukdar Khudhda (Unao)	"
656	"	Land t Chandra Bhal Bajpu	Brahmin	Editor The Tender Allahabad	"
657		The Hon ble Mr C Y Chintamani	"	Merchant, Yehingunj Lucknow	"
658		Lala Chhotey Lal	Hindu		"
659		Babu Dayal Krishen Seth	"	Merchant and Contractor Yehingunj Lucknow	"
660		Mr Debi Das	Agarwala	Banker Huvaingunj Lucknow	"
661		Babu Durga Prasad	Kayastha		"
662		Mr D R Mitra	Bengali Kayastha	Printer Katter Bagh	"

663	Mr Fateh Babu Inr Nigam	...	Kayastha,	Vakil, High Court, Saral Mall Khan, Lucknow.
664	Messrs. Latch Chand, Lallu Chand	...	Hindus	Jewellers, Lucknow
665	Babu Gopal Kishen Tandon	...	Khattri	Care of Sarker and Co., "
666	Babu Gopal Chand		Jain	Jeweller, Chank "
667	Babu Jian Chand		"	" Soudhutoh "
668	Mr Gaya Panchad Sivasastava, n. a. l. n.		Kayastha,	Vakil "
669	Messrs Gay a Prasad, Shambu Nath		Hindus	Mahajans "
670	Babu Gopal Das Varma		Kayastha	Proprietor, Indian Goods Supply Coy., Lucknow
671	Mr Govind Prasad		Rustogi	Proprietor, Maskey Tobacco Factory, Lucknow
672	Babu Gaur Dayal Sivasastava		Kayastha	Merchant, Saral Mall Khan, Lucknow,
673	Mr Gambhīr Mal		Sonwal	Banker, Chank Lucknow "
674	Mr Gulab Chand Stimal	...	"	" " "
675	Dr G. N. Chakrabarty, n. n.	...	Hindu	Medicine, 2 Way Road "
676	Babu G. Lal Prasad, n. a. l. n.		"	Vakil "
677	The Honble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra,		Brahmin	Advocate, Court of Judicial Commissioner, 7 Neill Road, Lucknow.
678	Mr Ganesh Prasad	...	"	" " "
679	Kandas Hukumat Rai		Khattri Aryan Bengali,	Landlord and Contractor, 25 Marwarl Gali, Lucknow.
680	Babu Haradas Ghosh	...	"	" " "
681	Babu Hari Kishore Dharu	...	Hindu	Goal Darwaza, Lucknow "
682	Mr H. N. Misra, n. a. l. n. (Cantab)	...	Brahmin.	Bar at law, 6, Neill Road "
683	Mr Hari Har Nath Sharga	...	Kashmiri Brahmin	Service, Lucknow "

Serial No	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession, calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
684	Lucknow People's Association	Babu Har Dayal	Kayestha	Vakil Lucknow	People's Assn meeting held at Lucknow on 22nd Dec 1916
685		Babu Har Dhan Chandra B.A. LL.B.	Hindu	Vakil High Court Pir Jali Lucknow	"
686		Mr Hari Narain Tandon	Khatti	Chauk	"
687		Babu Indar Dayal	Hindu	"	"
688		Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan B.A. LL.B.	"	Vakil Aminuddaula	"
689		Babu Ishwari Prasad Varma	Hindu	Vakil High Court	"
690		Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu B.A. LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahmin	Benares	"
691		Pandit Iqbal Shanker Kak	"	Lawyer Champatian Lucknow	"
692		Pandit Jagdishwar Landay	Brahmin	Contractor, Ganeshtgunj	"
693		Babu Jwala Pershad B.A. LL.B.	Jain	Jeweller	"
694		The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Narain	Kashmiri Brahmin	Lawyer Golegunj	"
695		Messrs Jawala Suhai and Sons	"	"	"
696		Raj Sahib Munshi Jwala Pershad Asthana	Kayestha	Government Pensioner	"
697		Pandit Jagmohan Nath Chak	Kashmiri Brahmin	Bar at law	"
698		Lala Kunja Bihari Lal	Agarwala.	Contractor Khetigali	"
699		Pandit Kashi Narain Bahadur	Kashmiri Brahmin	Cloth Merchant	"
700	"	Pandit Kunwar Kishen Bakshi	"	Zamindar Kashmiri Mohalla	"
701		Nawab Kazim Ali Salib	Islam	Bar at law	"

At a meeting of the Peoples
Association Lucknow on
10th and 17th Dec 1916

702	Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul B A	Kashmiri	Servant of India and Manager of the
703	Babu Kedar Nath	Brahmin	Hindustani
704	Babu Kanhaya Lal B SC	Kayestha	Manager N K Press Wingfield Park Western Gate
705	Dr Kishen Lal Nehru M B CH B	Kayestha	Ganga Prasad Road
706	Babu Kali Charan B A	Kashmiri	Home Ruler Medicine
707	Babu Lachhmi Narain	Brahmin	Pleader Maulwiganj
708	Pandit Lakshmi Narain Shukla	Agarwala	Trader Banvali Gali Chauk
709	Mr Lakshmi Narain Rustogi	Brahmin	Vakil
710	Babu Lachmi Narain B A LL B	Rustogi	Jeweller and Banker
711	Mr Laddi Prasad	Kayestha	Vakil Golagunj
712	Mr Madan Mohan Kishen	Agarwala	Service Begamgunj
713	Sheikh Mohammad Tekvi	Kashmiri	Zemindar
714	Pandit Makhan Lal Misra	Brahmin	Pleader
715	Babu Mahadeva Prasad Klianna	Khattri	Business (Trader) Lucknow
716	Madan Mohan Khanna	Brahmin	Retired Lalbagh
717	Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava	Islam	Superintendent Oudh Akhbar
718	Maulvi Masood Ali	Hindu	Manager Maariff Press
719	Babu Maharaj Bahadoor	Islam	Hakeem
720	Mr Mohammad Kazim	Kayestha	Vakil
721	Mr Motilal Srivastava B A LL B	Vaishya	Banker Mirza Mundi
722	Babu Madan Mol an		

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected
723	Lucknow People's Association	Babu Murlidhar Tandon	Khattar	Landholder, Jeweller (Gold and Silver Merchant)	At a meeting of the People's Association, Lucknow, on 10th and 17th Dec, 1916.
724	"	Pandit Mohan Kishen Zutshi, B. Sc., LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahmin	Vakil, Lucknow	"
725	"	Pandit Manohar Lal Tewary	Kayastha	" Ashrafabad	"
726	"	Lala Mukund Bhatt Lal	Bengali	Medicine, 2 Waz Road	"
727	"	Rai Bahadur Dr M N Ohdedar	Kayastha	Vakil	"
728	"	Mr Mahabir Prasad Varma, B.A., LL.B.	Agarwala	Banker, Veshagunj	"
729	"	Lala Narayan Das	Hindu	Zemindar, Malhabad	"
730	"	Mr Nanak Prashad	"	" Lucknow	"
731	"	Babu Newal Kishore Varma	Bengali	Bar at Law, No 10, Barrow Road, Lucknow	"
732	"	Mr N N Sinha	Hindu	Estimator and Draftsman, Lucknow Iron Works	"
733	"	Babu Oudh Bihari Lal	Agarwala	Merchant, Veshagunj	"
734	"	" Prag Das Agarwala	Rustogi	Proprietor, Flour Mills, Rani Katra	"
735	"	" Panna Lal	Vaishya	Hindu University Assistant	"
736	"	Babu Parbhu Dayal	Hindu	"	"
737	"	" Peary Lal Srivastava	Khattar	Medicine, Bhalron Tola, Lucknow	"
738	"	Dr P D, Kacker	Kishmiri Brahmin	"	"
739	"	Pandit Pradumna Kishen Kaul	Brahmin	"	"
740	"	Pandit Parmeshwar Din Dube		Mukhtev, Aminabad, Lucknow	"

	Babu Prabhat Chandra Gupta B A LL B	Bengali	Vakil
741	Babu Pratap Shanfer	Hindu	
742			
743	Pandit Ram Nath Sapru	Kashmiri	Banker National Bank
744	Babu Ram Dayal	Brahmin	Pleader
745	Mr Ram Chander	Kayestha	
746	Mr Radha Saran	Jan	Merchant Yelnaganj
747	Mr Radha Raman	Agarwala	Cloth Merchant Chauk
748	Mr Rajeshwari Prasad		Contractor & Mahajan Ballawali Guli
749	Mr R N Sanyal	Kayestha	Vakil Lucknow
750	Pandit Ram Bhajan Tripathi	Bengali Brahmin	Engineer Hewitt Road
751	Mr Raj Bahadur B Sc	Brahmin	Cashier
752	Mr Radhey Kishen	Kayestha	Pleader
753	Babu Ram Prasad	Agarwala	Jeweller and Mahajan
754	Mr Raja Prasad	Kayestha	Pleader
755	Babu Ram Bhargose Lal n A B Sc LL B		Vakil
756	Ram Prasad	Hindu	
757	Lala Radhey Lal	Agarwala	Merchant
758	Thakur Ram Kumar Sharma	Brahmin	Pleader
759	Dr R K Tandon M B C M (Edin)	Khattari	Medicine
760	Babu Ram Chandra M A	Hindu	Advocate
761	Lala Sham Bihari Lal		

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected
762	Lucknow Dist. C. Committee.	Munshi Shaikat Ali	Islam	Zemindar Lucknow	At a meeting of the Lucknow D. C. Committee held at Lucknow on 17th Dec. 1916
763	"	Syed Mohammad Mohsin	"	Manager, Jan and Co.	"
764	"	Babu Shri Kumar Mitra	Hindu.	Architect and Contractor, Hyderabad, Lucknow.	"
765	"	Mr Sripat Ram, B.A.	Kayastha	Zemindar and Pleader, Lucknow	"
766	"	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, M.A., LL.B.	Bengali Brahmin	Lawyer	"
767	"	The Hon'ble Mirza Sami Ullah Beg	Islam	Advocate	"
768	Lucknow People's Assn	Mr. Suraj Narain	Hindu.	Vakil, Jhauhal-ka-Pul, Lucknow	At a meeting of Lucknow People's Assn. on 27-12-16.
769	"	Pandit Shiva Bihari Lal Mishra	Brahmin	Pleader and Zemindar, Golagunj, Lucknow.	"
770	"	Babu Shiva Charan, M.A., LL.B.	Khattri.	Vakil, H. C., Dilkusha, Lucknow	"
771	"	Lala Sham Lal	Kayastha	Banker, Katra Azam Beg, Lucknow	"
772	"	Babu Sham Narain	Hindu.	...	"
773	"	Mr Shaikat Ali Khan, B.A., LL.B.	Islam.	Vakil, 10, Hewett Road	"
774	"	Pandit Suraj Narain Kichlu, M.A.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Kashmiri Mohalla	"
775	"	Nawab Sadique Ali Khan	Islam.	Bar-at-Law	"
776	"	Pandit Sham Lal Mehta, B.Sc., LL.B.	Gujarati Brahmin	Vakil	"
777	"	Babu Triptok Nath Bhargava, B.A.	Bhargava.	Proprietor, Tulsi Ram and Sons, Hazrat Gunj.	"
778	"	Dr. T. Bahadur	Hindu.	Medicine, Pir Jahl Road	"
779	"	Miss T. Bahadur	..	..	"

780	Pandit Tej Narain Mulla	...	Kashmiri	Vakil	"	"
781	Pandit Triloki Nath Madan, B A.	.	Brahmin	Golagunj	"	"
782	Sheik Usuf Ali Khan	...	Islam	Rais and Taluqdar	"	"
783	Shrimati Vidyabati	...	Khatrinal.	Wife of Razada Hukumat Rai, No. 25 Marwari Guli, Lucknow.	"	"
784	Babu Vidyadhar	...	Kayestha.	Tazikhera,	"	"
785	Babu Visheshwar Nath, B A	.	Khattri.	8, Kalian Tola	"	"
786	Syed Zahur Hussain	.	Islam	"	"	"
787	The Hon'ble Lala Sukhbin Singh	.	Vaishya	Rais and Zemundar, Muzaffarnagar	"	"
788	Babu Dharam Narain, B A	.	Agarwala.	Vakil Mainpuri	"	At a meeting held at Muzaffarnagar on 6th December, 1916.
789	Kuar Digvijai Singh	...	Khattri.	Rais and Zemundar, Mainpuri	"	At a meeting held at Mainpuri in December 1916
790	Kuar Jas Karan Singh	...	"	"	"	"
791	Pandit Jiva Lal Duveji	...	Brahmin.	Zemundar and Merchant, Mainpuri	"	"
792	Kuar Narendra Singh, B A	...	Kayestha	Rais and Zemundar	"	"
793	Babu Ajodhya Prasad Goel, B Sc, LL B	...	Vaishya.	Vakil, Meerut	"	At a public meeting held at Meerut on 22nd Dec 1916
794	Babu Ajodhya Prasad	...	Aryan	Medicine, Meerut	"	"
795	Lala Bisheshwar Dyal	...	Vaishya	Rais, Meerut	"	"
796	Lala Badri Prasad	...	Kayestha	Pleader	"	"
797	Babu Bhairon Prasad	...	Vaishya.	Teacher	"	"
798	Lala Bishambhar Sahai	...	"	Vakil	"	"
799	Babu Brij Nath Mithal, B Sc, LL B	...	"	Vakil, Meerut	"	"
800	Babu Brij Nath, B A, LL B	...	"	"	"	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
801	Meerut Dist.	Seth Gopi Nath	Vaishya.	Rais, Meerut	At a public meeting held at Meerut on 17th Dec. 1916.
802	Congr. Com.	Babu Gokul Prasad	"	Vakil "	"
803	"	Mr. Harikushen	"	" "	"
804	"	Mr. Harsaran Dass	Aryan.	Zamindar, Ghaziabad	"
805	"	Lala Jwala Parshad	Vaishya.	Merchant, Doab Stores	"
806	"	Babu Joyti Prasad Gupta, B.A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, Meerut City	"
807	"	Pandit Kundan Lal Chaube	Brahmin.	Estate Service "	"
808	"	Dr. Murari Lal	Vaishya.	Medicine "	"
809	"	Chaudhary Mukhtear Singh	Jat.	Pleader "	"
810	"	Babu Musaddi Lal	Jain.	Proprietor, High Unani Medical Hall, Meerut.	"
811	"	Lala Manohar Lal, B.A., LL.B.	Vaishya	Law, Ghaziabad	"
812	"	Babu Mool Chand Gupta	"	Pleader, Meerut	"
813	"	Babu Munshi Lal	Agarwala	Vakil "	"
814	"	The Hon'ble Lala Madhusudan Dayal	Vaishya.	Rais, Hapur "	"
815	"	Munshi Pearey Lal	Kayestha.	Trader, Doab Stores Meerut	"
816	"	Babu Pearey Lal	Vaishya.	Pleader "	"
817	"	Pandit Pearey Lal Sharma, M.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Lawyer, Meerut Cantonment	"
818	"	Babu Raghubar Dayal, B.A.	Vaishya.	Pleader "	"

819	Babu Ratan Lal	Gaur Brahmin	Jat	C/o R S Lala Parbhu Dayal	
820	Mr Ram Singh Sharma B.A.	Vaishya		Pleader Meerut	
821	Lala Ram Rikh Pal Singh	Brahmin		Rais	
822	Chauhan Suresh Chandra Chaturvedi M.A. LL.B.	Vaishya		Vakil	
823	Mr Suresh Chandra Gupta	Islam		Bar at Law	
824	M. Abdus Salam	Kayastha		Zemindar Moradabad	At a public meeting held at Moradabad on 26th Dec 1916
825	Babu Brij Kishore	Vaish		Mukhtear	
826	Lala Babu Lal	Kayastha		Banker	
827	Babu G. Anasham Dass	Khattri		Vakil Sambhal	
828	Mr Har Charan Lal	Vaish		Zemindar Moradabad	
829	Lala Jabba Lal	Brahmin		Zemindar	
830	Pandit Lal Gopaljee	Vaish		Pleader Amroha	
831	Pandit Nandkeshwar Joshi	Brahmin		Pleader	
832	Dr Narottam Chandra	Brahmin		Medicine Amroha Moradabad	At a public meeting held at Moradabad on 21st Decem ber 1916
833	Pandit Nathoo Ramjee LL.B.	Vaish		Vakil	
834	Mr Purshottam Saran B.Sc.	Vaish		Vakil High Court	
835	Mr Ratna Lal Jani	Brahmin		Trader	
836	The Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Radhakrishnan Das B.A. LL.B.	Agarwala		Vakil	
837	Babu Bhagwati Prasad	Brahmin		Steel manufacturer Mirzapur	At a public meeting held at Mirzapur on 22nd Dec 1916
838	Pandit B. D. Sharma B.A.	Brahmin		Service Mohalla Ganeshganj Mirzapur	

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic and at elections	Caste, creed or race	Profession on calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
839	Mirzapur District Congress Committee	Babu Bansidhar	Agarwala	Trader Mohalla Muzaffarganj Mirzapur	At a public meeting held at Mirzapur on 22nd Dec 1916
840		Babu Jagat Narayan Tandon	Khatti	Contractor and Merchant Muzaffarnagar	
841		Babu Kamla Prasad Tandon M.A. LL.B.	Kayastha	Vakil Mirzapur	
842		Babu Mahadeo Prasad Varma B.A. LL.B.	Rustogi	Teacher L.M. School	
843		Babu Madho Prasad	Jain	Shellac Merchant and Banker Mirzapur	
844		Babu Misri Lal Oswal	Khandelwal	Trader and Broker Sattl Bazar Mirzapur	
845		Babu Naikandas Khandelwal	Vaishya	Merchant Sabari Mirzapur	
846		Babu Prushottom Das	Goswami	Rais and Zemindar Mahant Shewala Mirzapur	
847		Mahant Paramajanda Giri	Brahmin	Care of Mr B.D. Sharma Ganeshganj Mirzapur	At a public meeting held at Muttra on 19th Dec 1916
848		Srimati Shamarati Devi	Khatti	Zemindar Mirzapur	
849		Mr Shyam Bahari Lal		Pleader and Zemindar Mirzapur	
850		Babu Sri Ram Tandon B.A.	Kashmiri Brahmin Hindu	Teacher London Mission Mirzapur	
851		Pandit Tribhuban Nath Muttoo		Contractor and other business Lalbaggi Mirzapur	
852		Babu Vaidya Nath Gupta	Vaishya	Publisher and Bookseller, Muttra	
853	Muttra District Congress Committee	Babu Dwarka Prasad Bhatt		Vakil High Court Muttra	
854		Babu Dwarka Nath M.A. LL.B.	Hindu		
855		Babu Ganga Prasad Bhargava B.A. LL.B.			

856	"	Pandit Jaggannath, M.A., LL.B.	...	"	"	...
857	"	Pandit Jagdishwar Nath Kaul, B.A., LL.B.	...	"	"	...
858	"	Babu Kanahia Lal, B.A., LL.B.	...	"	"	...
859	"	Babu Ram Nath	...	Aryan.	"	...
860	"	Babu Ram Singh Verma	...	Hindu.	"	...
861	"	Dr. Radha Ballab Pathak, L.M.S.	...	Brahmin.	Teacher	...
862	Naini Tal Dist. Congress Committee,	Pandit Amar Nath Chaube	...	Brahmin.	Medicine	...
863	"	Lala Chandra Lal Sah, B.A., LL.B.	...	Vaishya.	Zemindar, Kasipur	...
864	"	Pandit Chandra Datt Pant	...	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	...
865	"	Mr. Debi Lal Shah	...	Vaishya	"	...
866	"	Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant	...	Brahmin.	Banker and House-owner	...
867	"	Lala Indra Lal Shah, B.A., LL.B.	...	Vaishya	Vakil, High Court	...
868	"	" Jai Lal Shah	...	"	"	...
869	"	" Kishori Lal Shah, B.A., LL.B.	...	"	" and Municipal Commissioner	...
870	"	Pandit Lakshmi Dutt Pande, B.A., LL.B.	...	Brahmin.	High Court	...
871	"	Rai Sateb Pandit Mathura Dutt Pande, B.A. LL.B.	...	"	" Almora	...
872	"	Babu Mohan Lal, B.A., LL.B.	...	"	" Naini Tal	...
873	"	" Nanda Lal Shah	...	Vaishya	" Kashipur	...
874	"	Pandit Narottam Joshi	...	"	Contractor and House-owner	...
875	"	Chaube Ram Kishen	...	Brahmin	Landlord and Contractor	...
876	"	" Raj Kumar	...	"	Rais and Zemindar	...
				"	Zemindar	...

At a meeting of the Naini Tal
Dist. Cong. Committee held
on 24th December, 1916.

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
877	Naim Tal Dist C Committee	Babu Telu Ram Shah	Vaishya	Merchant (sweet seller)	At a meeting of the Naim Tal Dist Cong Committee held on 24th December 1916
878	Orai Jalaun Dist Congress Committee	Pandit Badri Prasad	Brahmin	Mukhtear Jhansa	
879		Mahant Chaturbhuj Das		Zemundar Konch Jalaun	"
880		Pandit Durga Charan		Banker Kalpi	
881		Babu Damodar Das Agarwala	Agarwala	Orai, Jalaun	"
882		Rai Sah b Pandit Gopal Das Sharma	Brahmin	Vakil Orai	
883		Babu Guru Prasad	Khatti	Banker and Zemundar	"
884		" Har Prasad	Vaishya	Banker Orai	
885		K shori Lal Sethi	Bania	Zemundar and Contractor Kalpi	"
886		Krishna Baldeo Varma	Khatti	and Banker Konch	
887		Pandit Ram Sahai Parsarya	Brahmin		"
888		Pandit Ram Gopal			
889		Sham Sunder Lal	Bania	Banker Kalpi	"
890		Pandit Shiva Dhar Shukla	Brahmin	Private Tutor Konch	
891	Pilibhit Public Meeting	Braj Nandan Prasad Misra	"	Mukhtear Pilibhit	At a public meeting held at Pilibhit on 26th Nov 1916
892		Babu Hinday Narayan	Kayestha	Lawyer	
893		" Ram Bahadur Sak-sena		Mukhtear	

894	Partabgarh Distt C. Com.	Babu Awadh Bihari Lal, B A, LL.B.	...	Hindu	Vakil, Partabgarh (Oudh)	...	At a public meeting held at Partabgarh on 23rd Dec. 1916.
895	"	" Ram Saroop Nigam, BSc, LL.B	...	"			"
896	"	" Radhakrishna, LSc, LL.B	...	"			"
897	"	Pandit Hari Har Prasad Upadhyaya	...	Brahmin	Zemindar, MacAndrewganj, Partab- garh,	...	At a public meeting held at Rai Bareilly on 17th Dec. 1916.
898	Rai Bareilly Distt C. Com.	Babu Ajodhya Prasad Srivastava, B A	...	Kayastha	Vakil, Rai Bareilly	...	"
899	"	Pandit Bihari Lal Nehru, B A, LL.B	...	Brahmin	Vakil "	...	"
900	"	Babu Debu Prasad Srivastava	...	Kayastha	Vakil, High Court, Rai Bareilly	...	"
901	"	Babu Jang Bahadur, B A, LL.B	...	"	" " Dalmau, Rai Bareilly,	...	"
902	"	Syed Kallu Abbas, B A, LL.B.	...	Islam Shiva	" Jehanabad	...	"
903	"	Babu Kismat Rai Jagdhari, B A, LL.B	...	Kayastha	" High Court	...	"
904	"	Babu Kedar Nath Bhargava,	...	Brahmin	Contractor	...	"
905	"	Pandit Prakash Narain Tankha	...	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Zemindar	...	"
906	"	Babu Sooraj Bali ...	...	Vaishya	Pleader	...	"
907	Saharanpur Distt C. Com.	Mr Abdul Rahim ...	...	Islam.	Vakil, Saharanpur	...	At a public meeting held at Saharanpur on 8th Dec. 1916.
908	"	Babu Ajodhya Prasad	...	Hindu.	Rais "	...	"
909	"	Babu Ajit Prasad ...	...	"	Zemindar, Nakur, Saharanpur	...	"
910	"	Babu Bhagwan Prasad, BSc, LL.B	...	"	Vakil, Saharanpur	...	"
911	"	Babu Durga Prasad, B A, LL.B	...	"	"	...	"
912	"	Pandit Gayan Prakash	...	"	Vaid and Zamindar	...	"
913	"	Mr Govind Prasad	...	"	Zemindar, Saharanpur	...	"
914	"	B Hardwar Singh, L. M. II (Homoeopathic)	...	"	Homoeopathic Practitioner, Saharanpur,	...	"

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholarly distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
915	Saharanpur Dist C Com	Mr J M Chatterji	Hindu	Bar at Law Saharanpur	At a public meeting held at Saharanpur on 8th Dec 1916
916		Babu Jagat Ram		Pleader	
917		Babu Lakshmi Chand B A LLB		Vakil High Court Saharanpur	
918		Pandit Mohan Lal		Bar at Law	
919		Babu Meera Ram		Pleader	
920		Babu Mathura Das		Zemindar and Banker	
921		Pandit Prithi Singh		Muzaffarnagar	
922		Ilaia Peru Mal		Retired Munsarim District Judge s	
923		Rai Saleb S P Sanyal	Bengali Brahmin Hindu	Court Saharanpur	
924		Mr Ugger Sain B A (Oxford)	Hindu	Bar at Law Dehra Dun	
925	Sultanpur D C Committee	Babu Amba Sahai		Pleader Sultanpur	At a meeting held at Sultanpur on 20th Dec 1916
926		Babu Daulat Rai	Kayestha	Legal Practitioner, Sultanpur	"
927		Mr P D Khanna B A LLB	Khatti	Pleader	"
928		Babu Ram Prasad Srivastava	Kayestha	Vakil Tilhar district Shahjahanpur	At a meeting held at Shahjahanpur on 15th Dec 1916
929	Shahjahanpur Dist Congress Committee	Babu Janki Prasad B A	Vashya		"
930		Babu Lakshmi Narayan Gupta B A LLB	Khatti	Trade	"
931		Babu Lal Bhai Mehrotra M A		Zemindar	"
932		Babu Nawal Kishore Seth B A			"

At a meeting held at Sitapur
on 9th Dec 1916

Sitapur Dist C Committee	Pa dit Raj Bahadur Tripathi	Brahm n	Vakil	
933	B S am Sundar Sahai Srivastava B A LL B	Kayestha	"	
934	Thakur Anur idh Singh	Thakur	Sitapur	
935	Mr A K Bose B A	Bengali Kayestha Brahmin	Pleader Sitapur	
936	Pand t Ajodhya Prasad	Vaishya	Pleader and Zemindar Sitapur	
937	Babu Badri Prasad Gupta B A LL B	Kayestha	Zemindar Khairabad	
938	Chaudh ri B sl en Dyal	Rajput	Bihat Biram	
939	Trakur Bahadur Singh			
940	Badri Singh			
941	Babu Bishambhar Nath	Khattri	Banker and Cloth Merchant Bihat Biram Sitapur	
942	Thakur Baldeo Bux S ngh	Rajput	Zemindar B hat Biram Sitapur	
943	Kumar Balbhadra S ngh	Kshattriya		
944	Babu Chandrika Prasad	Kayestha	Khairabad	
945	Mr C N Harikant B A	Kashmiri Brahmi Rajput	Pleader	
946	Thakur Chandra Bhushan Singh	Kayestha	Zemindar Bihat Biram	
947	Babu Chhail Bihari Lal B A	Rajput	Vakil and Zem ndar	
948	Thakur D gh Vijaya S ngh	Khattri	Zemindar Bihat Biram	
949	Kumar Dwarka Singh B A LL B	Brahm n	and Pleader	
950	Pa dit Durga Prasad Trivedi B A LL B	Kayestha	Pleader	
951	Babu Gauri Sahai Khari B A LL B	Rajput	Zemindar Bihat Biram	
952	Babu Ganga Bux S ngh			
953				

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
954	Sitapur District Committee	Pandit Gaya Prasad Tewari	Brahmin	Zemindar and Pleader Sitapur	At a meeting held at Sitapur on 9th December 1916
955		Hari Har Sahai Dikshit		Bambhora	
956		Thakur Hari Har Bux Singh	Rajput	Bihat Biram	
957		Kumar Indra Shekhar Singh	Khattri	Zemindar Sitapur	
958		Jaha var Singh			
959		Jagat Singh	Kayestha	Homerpath	
960		Dr Jalpa Prasad	Rajput	Zemindar Bihat Biram	
961		Thakur Jahawar Singh		Patabhoga	
962		Jaganath Singh	Jain	Pleader Sitapur	
963		Babu Jhamman Lal D.A.	Brahmin	and Zemindar Sitapur	
964		Pandit Krishna Behari Misra B.A. LL.B.			
965		Kalika Prasad Trivedi	Khattri	Zemindar and Banker	
966		Mr Lakshmi Narain Mohendra			
967		Thakur Lakshman Singh	Vaishya		
968		Babu Manohar Lal	Khattri	Bargawan	
969		Kumar Madho Singh		Sitapur	
970		Mr Moti Pal Singh			
971		Babu Madho Prasad B.A.	Kayestha	Pleader	

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
993	Sitapur Dist. Congress Committee.	Kumar Saroop Narain	Kayestha.	Zemindar Sitapur	At a meeting held at Sitapur on 22nd Dec. 1916.
994	"	Pandit Sheo Prasad Agnihotri	Brahmin	Pleader "	"
995	"	Babu Shilam Lal	Kayestha	" "	"
996	"	Babu Sidh Prasad	"	Vakil, High Court "	"
997	"	Kumar Tej Sinha Mehta, B.A., LL.B.	Arya	Pleader "	"
998	"	Babu Uman Prasad	Kayestha.	" "	"
999	Unao Dist Congress Committee	Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpai, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Vakil, Unao	At a meeting held at Unao on 10th December, 1916.
1000	"	Babu Brindaban Bihari	Kayestha.	Pleader "	"
1001	"	Babu Devi Saran, B.A.	"	Landholder, Unao	"
1002	"	Babu Jagannath Prasad	"	Pleader "	"
1003	"	Pandit Kali Shanker, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Unao.	"
1004	"	Babu Lakshmi Narain, B.A., LL.B.	Kayestha.	Legal Practitioner "	"
1005	"	Mr. Mohammad Masih Uddin Faruq, B.Sc., LL.B.	Islam.	" "	"
1006	"	Quazi Nazir Ahmed	"	Pleader "	"
1007	"	Babu Prag Narain, M.A., LL.B.	Khatti	Vakil "	"
1008	"	Pandit Sheo Peary Lal Dikshit	Brahmin.	Rais, Banker and Zemindar, Unao	"
1009	"	Pandit Ram Das Dikshit	"	"	"

1010	Babu Mahabir Prasad Unao
1011	Lalit Venkateshwar Narain Tevary, Lucknow
1012	Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru Lucknow
1013	Dr Hira Lal J Mehta
1014	Mr Salig Ram Shah
1015	Mr Rustam C N Baroelia
1016	Pandit Triloki Nath Kaul
1017	Mr Narasingh Das Gorakhpur
1018	Thakur Anurup Singh

PROVINCE—BOMBAY

1019	Bombay Dist C Committee	Mrs A Chatterjee	Hindu	C/o Associated Press* Elphinstone Fort Journalist c/o	At a Congress meeting on 14th Dec, 1916
1020	Fort Dist C Committee	Mr A C Chatterjee			14 12 16
1021	Poona Dist C Committee	Mr Anant Vasudeo I hadnis	Brahmin	Landlord Jodogopal Peth Satara City	7 12 16
1022	Karachi Dist C Committee	Mr Adamji Mamooji	Mahomedan	Merliant and Landlord	7 12 16
1023	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mr A Rehman H M Abba		Merchant Napcan Sea Road	7 12 16
1024	Jalgaon Dist C C	Mr A R Melhalas	Brahmin	Pleadership Jalgaon East Khandesh	in Dec 1916
1025	Bombay Pro vincial C C	Mr Ahmadaly I A Lalji	Mahomedan	Merchant 9 Green Street Fort	11 12 16
1026	Mandvi Dist C Committee	Mr Mohammad Afzal Narwawala		Landlord c/o Haji Md Abba & Co Musuf Building	14 12 16
1027	Jalgaon Dist Association	Mr Achyut Ganesh Abhayankar B A LLB	Brahmin	Pleader Jalgaon East Khandesh	10 12 16
1028	Bombay Pro vincial C C	Mr Anant Rajji Kavale	Hindu	Pleader District Nasik	11 12 16
1029	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mrs Anant kabai Gokhale	Brahmin	Atmaram Mansions	7 12 16
1030	Bombay National Union	Mr Anant Vasudeo Paranjpye	Hindu	Engineer	12 12 16

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1031	Bijapur Dist Cong Com	Rao Saheb A J Deshpande	Brahmin	Pleader	At a Congress Committee meeting on 7th Dec. 1916
1032	Thana Dist Cong Com	Mr Achyut Narayan Khare B A, LL.B		Pleader, Dahanu	7 12 16
1033	Ahmadnagar Dist C C	Mr Anant Yeshwant Deshmukh		Trader, Nani Petli	3 12 16
1034	Bombay National Union	Mr Meru Anant Godbole		Sawkar, Wadegaon, C P	12 12 16
1035	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mr Amrit Lal V Thakkar		Member Servants of India Society	7 12 16
1036	Bombay National Union	Mr A H Gadre	Brahmin	Journalist	12 12 16
1037	Hyderabad Sind Dist Cong Com	Mr Bulchand Kundanmal Adani	Hindu	Pleader and Landlord	3 12 16
1038	Hyderabad (Sind)	Dr Bulchand Ratonmal Malkani M D B S		Medical Practitioner, Sind	3 12 16
1039	Sholapur Dist Cong Com	Mr Bhagwat Rao Vaidya	Brahmin	Pleader, Harsi	17 12 16
1040	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Balwant Rao P Thakore B A, and Mr Jivan Lal H Divan M A	Hindu	Teachers Proprietors, High School Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1041	Girgaon Dist Cong Com	Mr Bhalabhai N Javeri		Merchant Gilbert House, Babulnath, 2nd Cross Road	7 12 16
1042	Pooni Dist Cong Com	Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak B A, LL.B	Brahmin	Publicist, 486 Narayan Petli, Poona	7 12-16
1043	Bombay Provincial C C	Mr B N Bhajekar B A LL.B	Hindu	Pleader, High Court, Girgaon	11-12 16
1044	Nasik Dist Cong Com	Mr Bhurgoo Bhikaji Mulay	Brahmin	Pleader Malegaon	14 12 16
1045	Girgaon Dist Co n Com	Mr Balashankar Dhurajram Pandya	Hindu	Assistant Carding Master, Sholapur Mill	14-12 16
1046	"	Mr Baban Gokhale	Brahmin	Atmaram Mansions	7-12 16.
1047	Fort Dist Cong Com	Mr Behramji P Madan	Parsi	Health Culturist and Drugless Healer	14 12 16
1048	Hyderabad Dist Cong Com	Mr Bhargwandas Pesumal	Hindu	Bar at Law Sukkur	3 12 16

1049	Bombay National Union	Mr Sadashiva Bhimashankar Saroph	Brahmin	Silver Merchant, Sangamun, District Nagar	"	12 12 16
1050	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Bhogi Lal Chunni Lal Shiroff	Hindu	Pleader, Ghashiram's Street, Ahmedabad	"	16 11 16
1051	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Bhaskarrao Motilal Medhi, B.A., LL.B	Hindu	Pleader, Lakha Patel's Poll Ahmedabad,	At a public meeting held on 16 11-16	
1052	Bombay Association	Mr B G Horniman	Englishman	Editor, Bombay Chronicle'	"	12 12 16
1053	Bombay National Union	Mr Bhimroo Trimbak Deshpande	Brahmin	Landholder, Khandesh	"	"
1054	"	Mr Babu Rao Jivanlal Desai, M P, S P L C	"	Chemist Shungne Building Sandhurst Road	"	"
1055	"	Mr B V Subba Rao, B A	"	Hony Worker as Managing Director, the Indian Cooperative Store & Co, Ltd	"	"
1056	Belgaum Distt C C	Dr B S Kulballi L M & S	"	Medical Practitioner	"	"
1057	"	Mr B D Natu	"	Trader	"	"
1058	"	Mr B B Potdar, B A, LL B	"	Pleader, Belgaum	"	"
1059	"	Mr B N Chandurker	"	Landholder	"	"
1060	Ratnagiri Distt C C	Mr Govind Balkrishna Chitale	"	District Pleader, Upper Lane	"	"
1061	Provincial C Committee	Mr B B Joshi B.A., LL B	Hindu	Bar at Law	"	"
1062	"	Mr Bhula Bhai J Desai, B.A., LL.B	"	Pleader	"	"
1063	Hyderabad Distt C C	Mr Fulchand Jhamatmal Vaswani, M A	Hindu	Author and Publisher of Hindvasi Office	"	4 12 16
1064	Bombay National Union	Mr Wasudeo Balwant Telang	Brahmin	Agriculturist, Sangli	"	12 12-16
1065	Bijapur Distt C Committee	Mr B B Bagalkot, B A, LL B	Hindu	Pleader	"	7-12 16
1066	Bombay Provincial C C	Mr C N Pandya, B A, LL B	"	Vakil H C, Bombay, Chinabaug, Girgaon	"	11-12-16
1067	Girgaon Distt C Committee	Mr Chandulal B Janwala	"	Jeweller, 90 Bhundi Bazar	"	7-12 16
1068	Poona Distt C Committee	Mr Chintaman Vinayak Joglekar	"	Jhagirdar, 77 Shukrawar Peth	"	"
1069	Bombay National Union	Mr Chintaman Vinayak Vaidya, M.A., LL B	Brahmin	Retired Judicial Sub Officer	"	12-12 16

Serial No	Llectorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1070	Karachi District Committee Hyderabad	Mr Chandiram Jethanand Bakku	Hindu	Pleader & Managing Proprietor, Rohri Sind Contractor	At a public meeting held on 12 12 16 3 12 16
1071		Seth Chellaram		H C I leader 3rd Parsiwada	7 12 16
1072	Girgaon District Committee	Mr Chhotatalal Karsondas Malje, B.A. LL.B.		Assistant Manager, Delhi	11 12 16
1073	Bombay Provincial Committee	Mr Joshi Chiman Roy Bhavani Shankar B.A.	Jain	Pearl Merchant	
1074	Ahmedabad District Committee	Mr Chimanlal J Javeri	Hindu	Pleader Khetar Pals Poll Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1075	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Chimanlal Purshotamdas Broker B.A. LL.B.		H C Vakil 5 Bhaskar Lane	12 12 16
1076	Bhuleswar District Committee	Mr Chunilal Dayaram Mehta B.A. LL.B.	"	Landlord and Engineer	4 12 16
1077	Hyderabad District Committee	Mr Chimanlal Kanvatra Gidwani		Pleader H C Bombay Churni Road	11 12 16
1078	Bombay Provincial Committee	Mr Chhotubhai Anupram Vakil B.A., LL.B.		Doctor	4 11 16
1079	Hyderabad District Committee	Mr Chaitram Prataprai Gidwani		Advocate	16 12 16
1080	Bombay Presidency Association	The Hon Mr C H Setalvad		P leader, Nadiad	16 11 16
1081	K. Association	Mr Chandulal A Delal		Pleader	Meeting held on 4th Dec. 1916
1082	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Chaturbhuj Mankeshwar Bhatt	Hindu	Zemindar	12th Dec 1916
1083	Hyderabad District Committee	Mr Cl ubermal Lalchand	Brahmin	Care of Dramad Soap Company	"
1084	Bombay National Union	Mr Chintaman Purushottam Sathe	Hindu	Accountant and Book keeper Girgaon	3rd Dec 1916
1085	Do	Mr Chhaganlal P Nanavaty		Merchant Nanu Peth	"
1086	Ahmednagar District Committee	Mr Chandanmal Jasraj	Brahmin	H C Pleader, Ghumare Lane	"
1087	Do	Mr C Mohon raj Septarishi M A LL.B.			

		Mr Chandulal Mohanlal Laveri	Hindu	Merchant Street	Patn Building, Princess	16th Nov 1916
1088	Gujarat Sabha	The Hon Mr C V Mehta	Bhatia	Merchant 71 Dalkeswar Road		12th Dec 1916
1089	Bombay Assn	Mr Chaturbhooj Shivjee	Bania	Pleader H C, Bombay		7th "
1090	Gurgaon Dist C Committee Bombay	Mr Hirral S Nanavati	Brahmin	Teacher, Nutan Marathi Vidyalyaya, Poona		12th "
1091	Poona Dist C Committee	Mr Datta Waman Potdar, B A	"	H C Vakul 47 Kalbadevi Road		17th "
1092	Bombay National Union	Mr Datta Appajee Tulzopurker, B A LLB	Hindu	Pensioner Delhi Gate		12th "
1093	Ahmednagar Dist Assn	Mr D S Mahataker	Jain	Pleader Godhra		3rd "
1094	Panchmahals Dist Assn	Mr Dalasukhbhai Lallubhai Shah B A LLB	Hindu	Government Pensioner		3rd "
1095	C Committee	Mr Dharam Das Khubchand	"	H C Pleader Jan Mahomed Building, Churni Road, Bombay		4th "
1096	Hyderabad D C Committee	Mr Dattaram Ganpat Dalvi M A, LLB	"	Merchant Dwarkadas Building Horn by Road		12th "
1097	Bhuleswar D C Committee	Mr Devji Umarsey	Indian	Mercliant, Chukla Mandi		14th "
1098	Fort Dist C Committee	Mr Dawadbbhai Kazalbbhai J I	Hindu	Mercliant		At a meeting on 4th Dec, 1916
1099	Mandvi Dist C Committee	Mr Denmal Tuljaram Ananandeen	"			
1100	Hyderabad Dist C C	Mr Dadi, Barjorji Lam	Parsi	Landed Proprietor Motiwala Building Lamington Road		13th "
1101	Bombay Assn	Mr D A Jayawant	Hindu	Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona, Kesari Office		7th "
1102	Byculla Dist C Committee	Mr Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale B A LLB	"	Contractor, 77 Shukrawar Peth Poona,		12th "
1103	Poona Dist C Committee	Mr Dhondo Krishna Sathie, B Sc	Brahmin	Municipal Councilor, Bunder Road		12th "
1104	Bombay National Union	Mr Durgadass B Adwan	Hindu	Pleader Lakhigate, Sitarpur, Sind		12th "
1105	Karachi Dist C Committee	Mr D N Bahadurji	Saapur Kshatriya	Merchant Ahmedabad		3rd "
1106	Bombay Assn	Diwan Narandas Vishender Saupor	Brahmin			" "
1107	Hyderabad Provincial C Committee	Mr Dinanath Mohanlal Mehta				" "
1108						" "

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession, calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1109	Bluleshwar District Committee Bombay	Mr Dhurajlal Motilal Vakul B.A. LL.B.	Hindu	H. C. Pleader Urjeram Building Bombay	At a meeting on 12th Dec 16
1110	National Union Bombay Assn	Mr D. D. Sathaji F.R.C.	Parsi	Banker, Merchant, Malabar Hill Bombay	"
1111	Bombay Assn	The Hon. Sir Dinshaw Petit, Bart.	Brahmin	Pleader	"
1112	Bombay District Committee	Mr D. B. Kulkarni B.A.	Brahmin	H. C. Pleader, Bombay	"
1113	"	Mr Damodar Dhondacharya Kurundwad B.A. LL.B.	Hindu		12th
1114	Bombay Assn	Mr Kaaji Dinkadas Dharamsey	Hindu		
1115	Dhulia District Committee	Mr Daji Vitthal Soundankar	Carpenter	Pleader Dhulia West Khandesh	District Congress meeting on 17 12 16
1116	Khandesh	Mr Dattatraya Vasudeva	Brahmin	Pleader Amalner, East Khandesh	20 12 16
1117	Jilla Sabla Bombay National Union	Mr Dattatraya Vishwanath Sulakhe	"	Merchant, Barsi Town, district Shola pur	12 12 16
1118	Ahmednagar District Assn	Mr Dinkar Trimbak Deshmukh	"	Pleader Ghumregalli	3 12 16
1119	Bombay National Union	Sayed Dadajiman Sedunjiman	Mahomedan	Jeweller c/o Ramchand Nathmal Oswal Jhaveri Bazar	12 12 16
1120	"	Mr Damodar Keshore Bhame	Brahmin	High Court Vakil Mumbadevi Road	"
1121	District Committee	Mr D. R. Sane	"	Pleader Chikodi Belgaum	"
1122	"	Mr D. R. Majle B.A.	"	Pleader, Belgaum	"
1123	Belgaum District Committee	The Hon. Mr D. V. Belvi B.A. LL.B.	"	Pleader, Belgaum	"
1124	Bombay Assn	Mr D. C. Virkar, B.A. LL.B.	Hindu	Vakil High Court Goregaunkars Churni Road	12 12 16
1125	Poona District Committee	Mr Dattatraya Atmaram Phatak B.A. LL.B.	Brahmin	Pleader, 39 Shukrawar Peth	7 12 16
1126	Bluleshwar District Committee	Mr Madhauji Damodar Thakarsi	Hindu	Merchant, Warden Road Maha Laxmi,	12 12 16

1127	Poona Dist. C. Committee.	Mr. Pandurang Damodar Gune, M.A., P.H. D.	Brahmin.	Professor, Fergusson College	...	7-12-16.
1128	Bombay National Union	Mr. D. G. Khaparde	"	Landlord, Amraoti	...	12-12-16.
1129	Girgaon Dist. C. Committee.	Mr. Eknath Narayan Dandekar	Hindu.	Service, 65, Khotaswadi	...	7-12-16.
1130	Bhuleswar District C. Committee.	Mr. Fardoonji S. Madan	Parsi.	Merchant, No. 15, Wadia's Chawl, Chaodanwadi, Bombay.	...	12-12-16.
1131	Iyderabad District C. Committee.	Mr. Gopaladas Jhamatmal Advani	Kshatriya	Pleader and Zemindar	...	3-12-16.
1132	Panchmahals District C. Committee.	Mr. Gokaldas Chunnimal Sarciya, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Pleader, Godhra	...	"
1133	District C. Committee.	Mr. Ghanshyamdas Ratanmal Malkani, M.A.,	"	Fellow, Indian Institution of Philosophy, Amalher.	...	4-11-16.
1134	Jalgaon.	Mr. Santile Govind Balakrishna	"	Merchant and Agriculturist, Jalgaon	...	in Dec, 1916.
1135	Bombay National Union	Mr. Govind Pandharinath Shidore, B.A.	Aryan.	Teacher, Fergusson College Road, Poona.	...	12-12-16.
1136	"	Mr. Gamanaji Pitaji	Marwadi.	Merchant, Bhawani Peth...	...	12-12-16
1137	Poona Dist. C. Committee.	Mr. Ganesh Sadashiv Marathe, M.A., A.A.I.	Brahmin.	Actuary, Shantwar Peth ...	...	"
1138	Bombay National Union	Mr. Govind Krishna Tilak	"	Dist. Pleader, Barsi, district Sholapur	...	12-12-16.
1139	"	Mr. Govindlal Shikhlal Motilal	"	...	...	"
1140	Poona Dist. C. Committee.	Mr. Gopal Ganesh Thakur, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil	...	7-11-16
1141	Nadiad Dist Assn.	Mr. Gokuldas Khushaldas	Hindu.	Merchant, Bombay	...	18-12-16.
1142	Girgaon Dist. C. Committee.	The Hon Mr. Gokuldas Khandas Parekh, M.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Bombay	...	7-12-16.
1143	Iyderabad C. Committee.	Mr. Ghanshyam Jethanand Shivdasani, M.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Landlord, Hftrabad Quarters	...	4-12-16.
1144	Bombay.	Mr. Gulabchand, D. Javeri	"	...	...	12-12-16
1145	Girgaon Dist. C. Committee.	Mr. G. K. Gadgil, B.A.	Brahmin.	Bar at-Law, High Court, Bombay	...	7-12-16.

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1146	Bombay National Union	Mr Gulbhai Wallabhadas	Gujarati Hindu	Girgaon Bombay	At a public meeting held on 12 12 16
1147	Bombay National Union	Mr Gopal Kashi Nath Manohar	Brahmin	Merchant Kathaya Bazar	12 12 16
1148	Bijapur Dist C Committee	Mr Gurunath Tammaji Daddibai B A LLB		Pleader Maddabahal	7 12 16
1149		Mr G G Hawaldar		Pleader	
1150	Bombay Association	Mr Govind Lal N Thakur B A LLB		H C Vakul Bhimrao Atmarams Wadi, Thakurdwara Road	12 12 16
1151	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mr G B Trivedi B A	Indian	Service 399 Thakurdwar	12 12 16
1152	Bombay Association	Mr G S Bhat N A	Hindu	Pleader Bhadra Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1153	Gujarat Sabha	Mr G V Munlankar B A LLB	Brahmin	Pleader Barsi Distt Sholapur	12 12 16
1154	Bombay National Union	Mr Ganesh Ramchandra Sane		Saukar Donge Lane	3 12 16
1155	Ahmednagar Distt C C	Mr Govind Dhondo Tombali		H C Pleader Bagades Theatre	
1156		Mr B B Ganesh Krishna Chitale B A LLB		Pleader Nam Peth	20 12 16
1157		Mr Gundoo Ramchandra Phadke B A LLB		Pleader Bhusawal	20 12 16
1158	Khandesh P Meeting	Mr Gopal Raoji Gogate B A LLB		Pleader Dhulia	
1159		Mr Govind Kashinath Chandorkar B A LLB		Pleader Belgaum	
1160	Belgaum Dist C Committee	Mr G V Masur B A LLB		Banker Belgaum	
1161		Mr Govind Narayan Thanedar		Landlord	
1162		Mr G V Yalgi		Pleader	
1163		Mr G B Deshpande B A LLB			

1164	"	Mr G D Shahade			Leader		
1165	Satara Dist C Committee	Mr Ganesh Ballab Phansalker		H C Pleader		3 12 16	
1166	Byculla Dist C Committee	Mr G H Raghavan	Hindu	Journalist Y M C A Reynolds Road		13 12 16	
1167	Bhuleswar Dist. C C	Mr Gopalji Kalji Sunderji		Merchant Ghadial Lane Mulji Jetha Market Bombay		12 12 16	
1168	District Cong ress Committee	Mr Gianchand G Kewalram M A		Professor Amalner (East Khandesh)		4 12 16	
1169	Satara P Meeting	Mr Pandurang Ghansesh Bhat	Brahmin	Pleader Karad			
1170	Hyderabad C Committee	Mr G M Bhurgri	Mahomedan	Bar at Law and Zemindar		3 12 16	
1171	Kara District C Committee	Mr Gokul Das Dwarka Das Talote B A LLD	Hindu	Pleader Sank Pipli Nadiad B B & C J Railway		18 12 16	
1172	E. Khandesh Dist Assn	Mr Ganesh Keshava Latwardhan	Brahmin	Pleader Jalgaon		10 12 16	
1173		Mr Gopal Vinayak Deshmukh M D (Lond) F R C S	Hindu	Surgeon Girgaon		12 12 16	
1174	Bombay P C Committee	Mr G K Deodhar M A	Brahmin	Senior Member Servants of India Society		11 12 16	
1175	Thana District C Committee	Mr Gajanan Govind Naik	Kshattriya	Landholder Thana			
1176	Bombay National Union	Mr Vinayak Gopal Gadgil	Brahmin	Merchant Sangli S M C		12-12 16	
1177	Bhuleswar Dist C C	Mr H K Mehta M A LLD	Hindu	Merchant e/o Ratilal Urajial & Co Licket Road Kalbadevi Bombay			
1178	Fort District C Committee	Mrs. Herabal Ardeshti Tata	Parsi	Old Police Court Hornby Road Fort		At a meeting held on 14 12 16	
1179	Almदनगर District Assn	Mr Hiralal Ratanchand Gandhi	Jam Marwadi	Merchant Adat Bazar		3 12 16	
1180	District C Committee	Mr Hari Ganesh Phatak	Brahmin	Teacher 193 Sadashiva Peth Poona		7 12 16	
1181	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mr H L Dawlatjada M A BSC	Kayestha	Service Naran Buildings Girgaon			
1182	Gujarat Sabha	Seth Haridas Acharatda	Hindu	Mill Agent near Railway Station Ahmedabad		16 11 16	
1183	Hyderabad Di C Committee	Mr Hiranand Santokram Advani B A LLB	Hindu Amil	Header Sind		4 12 16	
1184		Mr Henry Solomon Leon Polak	Englishman	Solicitor		6 12 16	

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1185	Hyderabad C Committee	Mr Hundomal Kishan Chand	Hindu	Secretary Commercial Insurance Co	At a meeting held on 3 12 16.
1186		Mr Hiranand H Monghurmalani		Merchant (Jeweller)	
1187		Mr Hetchand Ubriamal		Zemundar	
1188		Mr Hashmatrai Advani			"
1189	Bombay P C Committee District	Mr H R Dunikar M A	Brahm n	Secretary H W Home	on 11 12 16
1190	C Committee	Mr Hundaram Mewaram Jaghani P T S	Hindu	Pleader Hyderabad (Sind)	on 4 12 16
1191	C Committee	Mr Hoosainy A Laljee	Mahomedan	Merchant 9 Green Street Fort	11 12 16
1192	C Committee	Mr Hiranand Khem Singh B A LLB	H ndu	Pleader and Zemundar	3 12 16.
1193	C Committee	The Hon Mr Harchandrai Vishandas B A LLB	Indian	Pleader President Karachi Municipality etc. New Faiz Hussain Building Gorribhalla	11 12 16
1194		Mr H D Moriwalla		Anand Ashrama Poona City	"
1195	Bombay P C Committee	Mr Hari Narayan Apte	Patidar	Landholder and Money lender &c	3 12 16.
1196	Broach District Association	Mr Haribhai Zaverbhai Amin	Hindu	Jhadesh var via Broach Pleader	11 12 16
1197	Karachi District Committee	Dr Hasaram Vishandas	Mahomedan	Teacher Parsi Building Umarchadi	14 12 16
1198	Mandvi District Committee	Mr Habibur Rahman Khan	Hindu	Malji Jetba Market Bombay	12 12 16.
1199	Bombay National Union	Mr Haridas Morari		Pleader Dana Peth Ahmedabad	16 11 16.
1200	Gujarat Sabha	Rau Saheb Harilal Desai B A LLB		H C Pleader Bombay Maharaja Man sons Sandhurst Road	7 12 16.
1201	Gurgaon District Committee	Mr H V Divatia M A LLB	H ndu	H C Pleader Court Lane	3 12 16
1202	Ahmednagar District Assn	Mr Hari Keshav Patvardhan B A LLB			"

1203	Mr Hiralal Lachman arayan Kohre			Merchant Adat Bazar		
1204	Mr H G Kalkundri		Brahmin	Landlord Belgaum		
1205	Mr Hari Vistal Tulpule B A LLB			H C Pleader 643 Sadashiv Peth Poona	7 12 16	
1206	Mr Hari Mahadeo Divekar		Hindu	Dist Pleader, Kalyan Dist Thana	12 12 16	
1207	Mr H B Gumaste B A LLB		Brahmin	H C Pleader Bombay	7 12 16	
1208	Dr H V Savamer L M S			Medical Practitioner Belgaum		
1209	Mr Hari Govind L. maye M A		Hindu	Professor, Ferguson College Poona	11 12 16	
1210	Dr H S Deva L M S		Hindu	Servants of India Society	1 12 16	
1211	Mr Indranarayan Brjnmohan Lal B A LLB			H gh Court Val til Bombay	12 12 16	
1212	Mr I N Mel ta B A LLB			Bar at Law Parsotam Building New Queen's Road		
1213	Mr Ish vardas Ichl aram Mashru vala			Top vala's House Girgaon Back Road Bombay		
1214	Mr Indilal Kanaya Lal Yajn k B A LLB		Brahmin	Member Servants of India Society	7 12 16	
1215	Mr Jamsh a N R Mel ta		Indian	Merchant		
1216	Mr Jamniram Nurbheram Trivedi		Brahmin	Pleader and Landholder	3 12 16	
1217	Mr Jivarlal Chhmanlal Setalvad		Hindu	Business man 64 Nepean Sea Road Malabar Hill	7 12 16	
1218	Mr Jalbi oy Hormasji Bil moria		Parsi	Share Stock Broker opposite Charni Road Station Bombay		
1219	Mr Jasmol an Das Dharam Das		Hindu	Merchant		
1220	Mr Jamna Das					
1221	Mr Jlamatmal Gulabrai Lalwani p A LLB			Pleader Queen's Road	18 12 16	
1222	Mr J M Samant B A LLB		Brahmin	Pleader	11 12 16	
1223	Mr Jethmal I arsam Guhajan		Hindu	Editor Hind Vasi	17 12 16	

Serial No.	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1224	Bombay National Union	Seth Jethubhai Manshi	Jain	Cotton Broker	At a meeting held on 12 12 16
1225	Hyderabad Cong Com	Mr Jivatram Thakurdas Shahani B A	Hindu	Contractor	4 12 16
1226	Fort Dist Cong Com	Mr Jehangir Ruttonji Gilder,	Parsi	Merchant, Bazar Gate, Fort, Bombay	14 12 16
1227	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Jeshankar Amrit Lal Gandhi	Hindu	Apprentice to Auditors Sorab S Engineer and Company care of Mr Lalubhoj Vraj Lal, Gandhi Bazar Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1228	Bombay National Union	Mr Joseph Baptista, B A, LL B	Christian	Bar at law Majagadon	12 12 16
1229	Karachi Dist Cong Com	Mr Jewndas Daulatram B A, LL B.	Hindu	Pleader	11 12 16
1230	Hyderabad Cong Com	Mr Janmohamed Bhurgri	Mahomedan	Zemindar	3 12 16
1231	Broach Dist Association	Mr Jaykrishnalal Hirajal Majumdar	Pudvasi	Bar at law, Broach and B mbay	"
1232	Bombay P Cong Com	Mr Jannadas Dwarakadas Dharamsey, B A	Hindu Bhatia	Merchant Bankers Bungalow, Chow patty	11 12 16
1233	Rajapur Dist Cong Com	Mr Jogarao Shrinivas Rao Nargund B A, LL B	Brahmin	Pleader Bagalkor	20 12 16
1234	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Jivalal Varajrai Desai B A	Hindu	Bar at law, Madhava Bag Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1235	Bombay National Union	Mr Janardan Vishun Marathe B A	Brahmin	Contractor, Goregoodass Chawl, No 6 Room 74 Girgaon	12 12 16
1236	Bombay P Cong Com	Mr Jehangir Bomanji Icut	Parsi	Merchant and Mill Agent Pedder Road, Malabar Hill	11 12 16
1237	Bombay National Union	Mr Jugmohandas J Modi	Hindu	Merchant, Kalbadevi	12 12 16.
1238	Fort Dist Cong Com	Mr Jannadas M Mehta, N A, LL B		Bar at law 121 Medows Street, Fort	14 12 16.
1239	Panchmahal D Cong Com	Mr Keshava Lal Harilal Shah	Bania	Pleader Gujarat	3 12 16

1240	Bombay National Union	Mr Kothari Valchand Padamsi	Jain	Tergusson New Quarters Poona City	12 12 16
1241	Poona Dist Cong Com	Mr Krishnaji Moreswer Phatak B A LL B	Brahmin	Pleader Poona City	17 12 16
1242	Bhuleshiwar Dist C C	Mr Co vaji Hormaji Plumber	Parsi	Retired Plumber 44 Dhobi Talao opposite New Fire Temple	12 12 16
1243	Satara	Mr Krishnaji Govind Babulekar	Brahmin	Pleader Karad	
1244	Bombay National Union	Mr Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar B A		Public st Sadasiva Peth Poona City	17 12 16
1245	Gurgaon Dist C Committee	Mr Kuverji Ruitonji Jussawalla	Indian	Patel Building Gurgaon Bombay	7 12 16
1246	Hyderabad C Committee	Mr Kishen Chand Manram L M & S	Hindu	Medical Practitioner	
1247		Mr Krishna R Gojwani		Representative Weaving Factory Rohri	3 12 16
1248	Gurgaon Dist C Committee	Mr Khushaldas Kurji Parekh B A LL B		Hon Secy Seth V M Kapole Board ing School	7 12 16
1249	Surat District C Committee	Mr Kanhaiyalal Jamnadas Majmudar	Hindu	H C Pleader Vaidya Mohalla Navsari Gujarat	17 12 16
1250	Hyderabad Sind	Mr Khatumal Tenthdas Thadani	Kshatriya	Zemindar Thadani Lane	3 12 16
1251	Gurgaon Dist C Committee	Mr Keshavrao Santokhram	Hindu	Pleader Hyderabad (Deccan)	
1252	Satara	Mr Pardurang Keshav Shiralkar	Brahmin	Landholder Karad	
1253	Ahmednagar Dist C C	Mr Kashi Nath Pandhiani Nath Bhabroo B A LL B		Pleader Nani Ieth	3 12 16
1254	Khandesh Zilla Sabla	Mr Keshav Ramachandra Kanade B A LL B		Pleader Bhusawal East Khandesh	20 12 16
1255	Ahmednagar Dist C C	Mr Kundanlal Sobhachand Firode B A LL B	Jain	District Pleader Kapad Bazar	3 12 16
1256	Satara	Mr Kashinath Ramchandra Majgaonkar B A LL B	Brahmin	Pleader	
1257	Hyderabad Sind	Mr Kondooram Hardasmal Shroff	Kshatriya	Businessman Ice Factory Shikarpur	3-12 16
1258	Nasik District C Committee	Mr Krishnaji Parashram Khare B A LL B	Brahmin	Pleader Malegaon	14 12 16
1 59	Hyderabad Dist C C	Mr K shenchand Amersing	Hindu	Cloth Merchant	4 12 16
1260	Bombay	Mr Karsondas J Chitalia			12 12 16

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1261	Bombay National Union	Mr Krishnalal M Munshi B A, LLB	Hindu	Solicitor, Meadow's Street	At a meeting held on 12-12-16
1262	Byculla Dist C Committee	Dr K N Soapai, M B B S	"	Medical Practitioner, Kazran Building, Nava Nagpada	" 13-12 16
1263	Hyderabad Dist C C	Mr Kalidas Asharama	Brahmin	Religious	" 4 12 16
1264	Gurgaon Dist C Committee	Mr K G Wagle	"	Service, Kelwadi, Gurgaon	" 7-12-16
1265	Bijapur Dist C Committee	Mr K B Bomanji	Indian	Landholder	" "
1266	National Union Bombay	Mr K R Amasthi	"	"	" 12 12 16
1267	Bijapur Dist C Committee	Mr K G Ajrekar, B A, LLB	Hindu	Pleader	" 7-12 16
1268	"	Mr Krishnarao Ramachandra Kalmadi	"	Pleader, Muddalababai	" 3 12 16
1269	Ahmednagar Dist C C	Mr Krishnaji Anant Joshi B A, LLB	"	Pleader, opposite District Court	" "
1270	"	Mr Krishnaji Ramchandra Lal	"	District Pleader, Nani Peth	" 12-12-16
1271	Bombay National Union	Mr Mehta Kalidas Jethalal	Jain	Cloth Merchant, c/o Khariddar Kapda Co, Ltd, Generalgani Cawnpore	" 7-12 16
1272	Gurgaon Dist C Committee	Mr K B Joshi	Hindu	Merchant, 321, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay	"
1273	Belgaum Dist C Committee	Mr K H Dikshit	Brahmin	Author and Landlord	"
1274	Belgaum Dist C Committee	Mr K N Karjuppar	Brahmin	Pleader, Dist Court	At a public meeting held on
1275	Bhuleswar Dist Cong C	Mr Parmanand Kuverji Kapadia	Hindu	Merchant, Manhar Building, Princess Street.	" 12-12-16
1276	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Kalidas Jaskaran Jhaveri, B A, LLB	"	Pleader, Near Bala Hanuman, Ahmedabad	" 16 11-16
1277	"	Mr Krishna Lal N Desai, M A, LLB	"	Pleader	" "
1278	Bombay P C Com	Mr Nandavadyan K Mehta, B A, LLB	Brahmin	Vakil H C, French Bridge, Chowpatty	" 12 12 16

1272	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Karala Lal Narabhai Desai	"	Jagdekar and Zemendar, Setanpalia, Gopipura, Surat.	17-12-16.
1273	"	Mr Karukhram Virukhram Hera, L. M. &	"	Medical Practitioner, Havadia, Chakla	"
1274	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Kintanji Bharam Dhadphole, B. A.	"	Pleader, Akuj, district Sholapur	"
1275	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Khare's Jamnolandas Ramji	"	Merchant, Ridge Road	12-12-16.
1276	"	Mr Kashinath Narhar Sathe	"	Wood Merchant, Faunswadi	"
1277	"	Mr K. M. Bho's, B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader, H. C., Khosra Wadi, Gungton,	"
1278	Secretary (Legal)	Mr K. S. Deshpande, B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader	"
1279	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Kishor Lal Balwantlal Desai	Kohatrya	Pleader and Landholder, Amad	7-12-16.
1280	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Kintanji Malhar's Khadya, B. A.	Vaish	Professor, Fergusson College, Poona	3-12-16.
1281	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Lakshman Lal Hanas	Hindu	Merchant, 320 Mount Road, Fort	6-12-16.
1282	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Laxman Mahabaxso Deshpande	Brahmin	Landlord and Inamdar, Karad	14-12-16.
1283	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Laxman Raghunath G. Khale	"	Vakil and Municipal Councillor etc., Narayan Peth	"
1284	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Loharam J. Khatte, B. A.	Hindu	Manager, Hindu Vidyalyaya, Shikarpur	"
1285	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Laxman Morebhar Apte, B. A., LL. B.	Brahmin	Pleader	4-12-16.
1286	Secretary (Legal)	Mr L. N. Satam, Tikamdas Bolkani, B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader, Shikarpur	3-12-16.
1287	Secretary (Legal)	Mr L. R. Sangat	Bhatia	Merchant, Sandhurst Road	11-12-16.
1288	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Laxman's Aker Hanthabanker Joshi	Hindu	Merchant, Hajira's Pelli, Ahmedabad	14-12-16.
1289	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Mahasir Prasad Vaidar	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner, Farnood, District	16-11-16.
1290	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Laxman's Purnandasi P. Jetha	Hindu	Last Khandesh Merchant, Ahmednagar	12-12-16.
1291	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Laxman Vasaji Katrekar	"	Contractor, 3rd Khatapura	3-12-16.
1292	Secretary (Legal)	Mr Laxman's Das Virbhavadas	"	Merchant Warden Road	13-12-16.
1293	Secretary (Legal)		"		14-12-16.

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1300	Bhuleshar Dist Cong C	Mr Lalubhai Jeththalal Mehta	Hindu	Merchant c/o Mr Maneklal Janibhai Javeri Bazar	At a public meeting held on 12 12 16
1301	Dist Cong C Hyderabad	Mr N Ram Rao	Brahm n	Pleader Belgaum	4 12 16
1302	Cong Com	Mr Mangha am Klemchand	Hindu	Merchant	3 12 16
1303	Parichmahals Dist Cong C	Mr Mavel lal Nars das Shah M B B S	Jain	Private Medical Practitioner Godhra	18 12 16
1304	Kara Dist Assocat on	Mr Man lal Sankolal and Larkh	Baua	Hony Magistrate and Banker Modisanth Nadiad Gujarat	
1305		Mr Madanbhai J Gujar M A	Hindu	Chemist	
1306	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Man lal Harivallavdas Bhagat L M S	Hindu	Doctor Chhipa Mareji Street Ahmed abad	At a meeting held on 16 11 16
1307	Ahmednagar Dist Assn	Mr Nanakha d Kisandas Mutha B A L L D	Jain	Pleader and Munc pal Commissioner Ganja Market	3 12 16
1308	Bombay C Comm ttee	Mr Motilal Vallabhji	Hindu	78 Vithal vadi Kalbadevi	11 12 16
1309	Al medabad C Comm ttee	Mr Mohandas Karamclia id Gandhi		Ahmedabad	6 12 16
1310	Girgaon Dist C Comm ttee	Mr Man lal Dayabhai Nanavati		Solictor H C Bombay 80 Esplanade Road Tort	7 12 16
1311		Mr Manilal Chhiaga lal Modi		Merchant Ramashram Kandewadi	
1312	Ahmednagar Distr ct Assn	Mr Mot anlal Hambirmal	Jain	Do Adat Bazar	3 12 16
1313	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Manilal Maganlal Dalal		Broker	16 11 16
1314	Girgaon Dist C Comm ttee.	Mr Ma ik Homi B A L L D	Parsi	Pleader c/o Tata Iron Works Sakchi	11 12 16
1315	Bombay P C Comm ttee	Mr Mahadeo Rajaram Bodas M A L L D	Hindu	102 Kl otachi Wadi Gurgaon Road	12 12 16
1316		Mrs Manik D N Bahadury			"
1317	Bombay Nat onal Un on	Mr Muthradas Coorjee	Hindu	Merchant	19 12 16

1318	Karachi Dist C. Committee	Mr M. A. Hafiz	...	Mahomedan.	Bar at-Law, Tatta (Sind)	"	11-12-16.
1319	Gujarat Sabha.	Mr Manubhai V. Melita	..	Hindu	Doctor	...	16-11-16.
1320	Girgaon Dist C. Committee	Mr Manchhabhai Sakarchand Javeri	..	...	Frangwan Buildings, Lamington Road,	"	7-12-16
1321	Mandvi Dist C. Committee.	Mr Mafoomed Miya A Khandawani	..	"	Memon Street, Mandvi	...	14-12-16.
1322	Hyderabad Dist C. Committee.	Mr Mathradas Ramchand Javeri, B.A., LL.B.	..	Hindu	Pleader and Zemindar, Hyderabad 'Sind,	"	3-12-16
1323	Bombay	Mr Manukhlal A Master, B.A., LL.B.	..	Indian	Secy. Murari Gokul Das & Co	..	7-12-16
1324	Girgaon Dist (Committee	Mr M. P. Mullan, B.A., LL.B.	..	Hindu	11 C Pleader, Lamington Road, Bombay	"	"
1325	"	Mr Mahipatram Govindji Rawal	..	Hindu	Merchant, 13 Bank Street, Fort, Bombay	"	"
1326	Bombay	Mr Motiram Balkrishna Velkar, L.M.S.	..	"	Physician, Agiari Road, Bombay	"	12-12-16
1327	National Union Khandesh Zilla Sabha.	Mr Sadasaheb Mahadeo Godre	..	Brahmin	Money lender, Dhulia, W Khandesh	"	20-12-16
1328	Bombay	Mr Mahadeo Vitthal Saraf	..	"	Silver and Gold Merchant, Sangamner, district Nagar	"	12-12-16
1329	Bhuleswar Dist C. Committee.	Mr Maniklal Harilal, B.A., LL.B.	..	Hindu	Pleader, H C, 195 Princess Street	"	"
1330	Penulerey Association	Mr M. K. Ared	..	Indian	Bar at law, Bombay	"	"
1331	Kaira District Association	Mr Maganbhai Chaturbhai Paul, B.A., LL.B.	..	Hindu	Bar at law and Zemindar, Nulad and Ahmedabad	"	"
1332	Khandesh Zilla	Mr Mahadeo Govind Bhabroo, B.A., LL.B.	..	Brahmin	Pleader, Amalner, L. Khandesh	"	20-12-16
1333	Ahmednagar District Assn	Mr M. K. Kolhatker, B.A., LL.B.	..	"	Pleader, Karpagaon	...	3-12-16.
1334	"	Mr Mahadeo Sitaram Deshmukh	..	"	Merchant, Nand Peth	...	"
1335	"	Mr. Mahadeo Govind Vable	..	"	Merchant, Gujar Lane	...	"
1336	Thana Dist C. Committee.	Mr Mahadeo Ramechandra Ranade	..	"	Pleader, Kalyan, district Thana	...	"
1337	Belgaum Dist. C. Committee	Mr Mahadeo Vasudeo	..	"	Private School Teacher	...	"
1338	Dist Cong Committee	Mr M. H. Marathe, B.A., LL.B., ..	..	Brahmin	Pleader, Belgaum	...	"

At a public meeting held under
the auspices of the Dist C C

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste, creed or race	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1339	Girgaon Dist Cong Com Bhuleshwar	Mr M D Altekar, B A	Brahmin	Haji Cassum s Wadi, near French Bridge	At a public meeting held under the auspices of D. C. C 7-12-16
1340	Dist Cong Committee Ahmedabad	Mr Motichand G Kapadia	Hindu	Solicitor, High Court, Bombay	" 12 12-16
1341	Raja Sabha	Mr Manilal V Kothari	Jam	High Court Pleader	" 16 11-16
1342	Gujarat Sabha Ahmedabad	Mr Mohanlal Bhimchand Parikh	"	Jewellery Merchant, c/o Mr Kaldas J Javeri, B A I L N, Vakul	" "
1343	Surat Dist Cong Com Bhuleshwar	Mr Mukundao Balvantrao Dave, B A L I B	Brahmin	High Court Vakul, Hanodia, Chakla	" 17-12 16
1344	Dist Cong C Bombay National Union	Mr Mathuradas Haribhai	Hindu	Merchant, Ghadial Lane, Malji Jetha Market	" 12 12 16
1345	"	The Hon Mr Manmohandas Ramji	"	Merchant, Mill owner, Ridge Road	" "
1346	"	Mr Mahadeo Krishna Joglekar	Brahmin	Merchant, Bhindi, District Thana	" 12-12-16
1347	Hubli Taluka Cong Com Bombay National Union	Mr M Divakar Kale	"	Trader Hubli and Dharwar	" 17-12 16
1348	"	Mr Sadasiv Mahadeo Divakar	Hindu	Banker, Commission Agent, Ganesli Wadi	" 12-12 16,
1349	"	Mr Madhav Ramchandra, B A	Brahmin	Teacher, High School, Proval	" "
1350	Girgaon Dist Cong Com Poona	Mr Narayan M Joshi, B A	Hindu	Member, Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road	" "
1351	"	Mr Narayan Sadasiv Marathe, BSC	Brahmin	Landlord, 351 Shanwar Peth	" 7 12 16
1352	"	Mr Narayan Narhar Ashtaputre	"	Pleader	" "
1353	Ahmednagar Dist Assn Bhuleshwar	Mr Nikant Trimbak Pandit	"	Pleader, Maudancha Ada	" 3-12-16
1354	Dist Cong C Ahmednagar	Mr Naranji Dayal	Hindu	Merchant, Kamdhenu Lane Malji Jetha Market	" 12 12 16
1355	"	Mr Nemichand Agarchand	Jam	Merchant, Ganj Market	" 3-12 16

1356	Satara Dist Cong Com	Mr Narayan Krishna Agashi, B A, LL B	Brahmin	High Court Pleader	...
1357	Girgaon Dist Cong Com.	Mr N B Vibhakar, B A, LL B	Hindu	Bar at Law, High Court, Bombay	7 12 16
1358	"	Mrs Narsidas Jakisondas	"	Swiss College, Cumballa Hill	"
1359	"	Mr Narsidas Jakisondas	"	Landlord and Merchant, Cumballa Hill	7-12-16
1360	Poona Dist Association	Mr Narsimha Chintaman Kelkar, B A, LL B	Brahmin	Editor, 'Kesan' and 'Maharatta', 486 Narayan Peth	"
1361	Nadiad	Mr N Vrajaji Modi	Hindu	Merchant, Modi Street	"
1362	Poona Dist Cong Com	Mr Nirayan Ganesh Virakar, B A, LL B	Brahmin	Pleader, 601 Shukrawar Peth	1 12 16
1363	Bombay Association	Mr N M Samarth B A LL B	Kayestha	Vakil High Court, Girgaon Back Road, Street No 3	7 12-16
1364	"	Mr Narayana Vishnu Gokhale, B A, LL B	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, 695 97 Girgaon	12-12 16
1365	Karachi Dist Cong Com	Dr Nihalchand U Vaswani M B, B S	Hindu	Medical Practitioner	"
1366	Hyderabad Cong Com	Mr Noor Mahomed B A, LL B	Mahomedan	Pleader	11-12 16
1367	Girgaon Dist Cong Com	Mr Narun Subraya Pai	Hindu	Articled Clerk, Top Floor, New Bill- morla Chawl	3 12 16,
1368	Mandvi Dist Cong Com	Miss Navazhai N Baria	Parsi	Erskine Road, Umarchadi, Bombay	7-12-16
1369	Bombay National Union	Mr N V Joshi, B A	Brahmin	Merchant, Cow Lane, Girgaon	14-12-16
1370	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mr Narayan Vishnu Athavale	Brahmin	Contractor	12-12 16,
1371	Khandesh Dist C Committee	Mr N S Pathak, B A, LL B	Hindu	Pleader, Farandol (Jalgaon)	At a meeting of the Congress Committee.
1372	Bombay	Mr Natwarlal M Desai, B A, LL B	Brahmin	Solicitor, H C, Lamington Road, Bombay	17 12-16
1373	Khandesh Zilla Sabha	Mr Narayan Govind Muthe	"	Money lender and Landlord, Amalner, E Khandesh	12-12 16
1374	Ahmednager Dist Assn	Mr Nagnath Luxman Ranade, B A, LL B	"	Pleader, near District Court	20-12-16
1375	Belgaum Dist C Committee	Mr N T Datar, B A	"	Landlord Pleader	3-12-16
1376	"	Mr N H Walvekar B A, LL B	"	Pleader	4-12-16

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
1377	Bhuleshwar Dist. C. C.	Mr. Narottumdas Bhanji Kapadia ...	Jain.	Piece-goods Merchant, c/o Messrs Ramechandra Ratanji, Chhipi Chawl, Javeri Bazar.	At a meeting of the C. Committee 12-12-16.
1378	Surat District C. Committee.	Mr. Nandmukham Hariatanram Mehta ...	Brahmin.	Teacher, Amliaran, Surat ..	" 17-12-16
1379	Bombay National Union	Mr. N. V. Virkar ...	"	Art Photographer, 40 Topiwal's Laxmi Chawl, Lamington Road.	" 12-12-16
1380	Hubli.	Mr. Narayanrao Krishnarao Hingol ...	"	Pleader and Landholder ...	" ...
1381	Bombay National Union.	Mr. N. R. Mahajan ...	"	General Merchant, c/o Mahajan and Co.	" 12-12-16
1382	"	Mr. Narayan Sadasiv ...	"	Pleader, Bhindi, <i>via</i> Kalyan, district Thana.	" 12-12-16
1383	Bijapur Dist C. Committee.	Mr. N. P. Desai, M. A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader	" 7-12-16
1384	District Congress Committee.	Mr. N. S. Lokar, B. A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Belgaum ...	" ...
1385	Panchmahals Dist. C. C.	Mr. Purshotamdas Maganlal Shah, B. A., LL.B. ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Godhra ...	" ...
1386	Girgaon Dist. C. Committee.	Mr. P. P. Telang ...	"	Merchant, c/o Mr. Manilal Lalubhai, Satar Chawl.	" 7-12-16
1387	Bombay.	Mr. P. K. Telang ...	"	...	" 12-12-16
1388	Bhuleshwar Dist. C. C.	Mr. Phirozshah R Green ...	Parsi.	Building Surveyor, 411, Lahar Street, Dhobi Talao.	" 12-12-16
1389	Hyderabad C. Committee.	Mr. Pahlajsing Bijasing, M. A. ...	Hindu.	Akal Bhargh Lane ...	" 3-12-16
1390	"	Mr. P. S. R. Chary ...	Brahmin.	Service, Commercial Bank Road, Karachi.	" "
1391	Girgaon Dist. C. Committee.	Pandit Hoondraj Purnanram	...	Porohit, Mukhi Lane	" 7-12-16
1392	"	Mr. Phirozshah Sorabji Khambha	Parsi.	General Merchant, 21 Cumballa Hill ...	" "
1393	Bhuleshwar Dist. C. C.	Rao Saheb Purshottam Adhowjee	Hindu.	Merchant, Pattani Building, Princess Street.	" 12-12-16
1394	Girgaon Dist. C. Committee	Mr. Pranjiwan Purbhottam ...	"	Merchant, Bhayandar, Thana district...	" 7-12-16

1395	Bijapur Dist C. Committee	The Hon Mr P A Desai, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Pleader	"	"
1396	East Khandesh Dist Assn	Mr Purushottam H Deshpande	"	Teacher	"	10-12-16
1397	"	Mr Premraj Shaligram	Marwadi	Pleader, Erandol	"	"
1398	Gurgaon Dist C. Committee	Mr P V. Kane, B.A., LL.B.	"	Angrezwadi, Gurgaon Back Road	"	7-12-16
1399	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Pranlal Bhogilal	"	Pleader	"	16-11-16
1400	Nasik District C. Committee	Mr Purshottam Ramchandra Vaishampayan	Brahmin	Silver Merchant, Aditwar Peth, Nasik, House No 700	"	14-12-16
1401	Bombay National Union	Mr Parsharam Harmanohar, B.A., LL.B.	"	Articled Clerk, Kandewadi	"	12-12-16
1402	North Bombay Dist Congress Committee	Mr Parashram Vishnool Joglekar	Hindu	Head Clerk to Accounts, Laxmi Baug,	At a meeting held on 13-12-16	
1403	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Purshottamdas Bhavanadas Goradia, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Richey Road, Ahmedabad	"	16-11-16
1404	Ahmednagar Dist Assn	Dr Purshottam Mohaniraj Saptarshi, L.A., CP L.RCS, L.F.S.	Brahmin	Doctor, Ghumare Lane	"	3-12-16
1405	"	Mr. Prensukhl Ramadhyal Kohri	Hindu	Cotton Merchant, Ganj	"	"
1406	Surat Dist C. Committee	Mr Prasannavadan Motabhai Desai	Brahmin	Jagirdar and Zemindar, Gopipura	"	17-12-16
1407	Bombay National Union	Mr Trabhakar Bhaskar Kunte	"	Pleader, Bhundi, Dist Thana	"	12-12-16
1408	"	Mr P V. Mahajan	"	General Merchant and Agent, Sitaram Building, Fort, Bombay	"	"
1409	Bhuleshwar Dist Congress Committee	Mr. Ratilal Mohan Das Parekh	Hindu	Merchant, Picket Road, Kalbadevi	"	"
1410	Gurgaon Dist C. Committee	Mr Ramsingh Doonger Singh	"	Service, Gilbert House, Babulnath, 2nd Cross Lane, Chaupath	"	7-12-16
1411	Thana Dist C. Committee	Mr Kijaram Sakharam Bhagwar, N.A.	Brahmin	Chemical Manufacturer, Ghatli Ali Than, near Bombay	"	"
1412	Gujarat Sabha	Seth Ranchhorelal Acharajdas	Hindu	Mill Agent, near Railway Station, Ahmedabad	"	16-11-16
1413	Bombay	Mr Ratans D Morarji	"	Mill Owner	"	12-12-16
1414	Karachi Dist C. Committee	Mr. R H. Tejwani	"	Secretary, East and West Life Assurance Co., Karachi	"	11-12-16

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1415	Poona Sabha	Mr Ramchandra V. Nayal Patwardhan B A LL.B	Brahmin	Publicist c/o Kesari Poona	At a meeting held on 17 12 16
1416	Bombay National Union	Mr Ramchandra Baiwant Tulak		Landl rd 486 Narayan Peth	12 1 16
1417	Gujarat Sabha	Seh Rajchorelal Amritlal	Hindu	Mill Agent Kurd Elus Bridge Ahmed abad	16 11 16
1418		Mr Ramanlal Govindlal B COM		Merchant Hari Bhaktis Street	
1419	Hyderabad District Committee	Mr Ramchand Daramdas Advani		Merchant Co operative Society	4 1 16
1420	Gujarat Sabha	Raj Bahadur Ramanabhar Mahapatra B A LL.B		Pleader Astodia Road Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1421	Bombay	Mr R G Munsif B A LL.B		Bar at Law 79 Medo vs Street	12 12 16
1422	Girgaon District Committee	Mr Ratilal Tribhuvandas Engineer P A		Art cled Clerk 82 Girgaon Back Road Bombay	7 12 16
1423	Bhamburda District Committee	Mr Rustom Mervanji Alpat Wala B A LL.B	Lars	Bar at Law Girton House 1 Lars Road Bombay	13 12 16
1424	Bombay P C Committee	The Hon Mr R P Paranjpye M A B Sc	Brahmin	Fergusson College Poona City	11 12 16
1425	Bombay National Union	Mr Vaman Ramchandrar Naik	Brahmin	Landlord Gonaligoda Hyderabad	
1426	Fort District Committee	Mr R Venkatram	Hindu	Journal st 138 Mint Road Fort	14 12 16
1427	Satara District Committee	Mr Raghunath Pandurang Karajdikar	Brahmin	High Court Pleader	3 12 16
1428		Mr Ramchandra Ganesh Sonar		Pleader	
1429	Bijapur District Committee	Mr Ramachandra Venkatesh Sholapath Sewkar		Bagalkot District Bijapur	20 12 16
1430		Mr Ramchandrar Govind Datta M A LL B		Pleader	
1431	Hyderabad District Committee	Mr Rattansingh Gulabsing	Hindu	Landlord Hyderabad Sind	4 12 16
1432	Nasik District Committee	Mr R G Pradhan B A LL B	Prabhu	Pleader and Member Nasik Municipality	14 12 16

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1454	Bhuleshwar Dist C C	Mr Shambholal B Dave	Hindu	Service Kalyan's Moti's Chawl No 4 Kande vadi	At a public meeting held on 12 12 16
1455	Poona D C C	Mr Sadashiv Martai d Gade		Landlord	19 12 16
1456	Ahmednagar Dist C C	Dr Shanker Krishna Davare L M S	Brahmin	Doctor Davare Lane	3 1 16
1457	Bhuleshwar Dist C C	Mr Shriram Khushaldas	Hindu	Merchant c/o Mr Chhotalal Chaturbhuj's Shop Mulji Jetha Market	12 12 16
1458	Bombay National Union	Mr Shantaram A Subn s B A LLB		Solicitor Girgaon	
1459	Satara D C C	Mr Shankar Hari Sathé B A LLB	Brahmin	Pleader	3 12 16
1460	"	Mr Sadashiv Chintaman Lele L M S		Doctor Landowner Inamder Sangli	
1461	"	Mr Sadashiv Khando Altekar B A LLB		Pleader Karod	
1462	Fort D C C	Mr Shivalal Nimji Mittar	Jain	Merchant Ghat Cooper	14 12 16
1463	Bombay National Union	Shet Sakarlal M Mehta		Secretary Jain Pathshala	12 12 16
1464	D C C	Mr Shewakram Hargotind	Hindu	Zemindar Khaipur Mrs Sind	4 12 16
1465		Mr Surendraraj Bapubhai Medh		Clerk	6 12 16
1466	Hyderabad C Comm ittee	Mr Govind Bux Hasamal	Hindu	Contractor, Fort Incline	3 12 16
1467	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mr S G Banker M A			
1468	Hyderabad D C Committee	Mr Shewaram Gurunomal Mamunkhan	Hindu	Landlord	4 12 16
1469	Ahmedabad Poona Dist C Comm ittee	Mr Samabhai H Vakil	Jain	Merchant 2619 Mandies Street	"
1470	"	Mr Sitaram Keshav Damle B A LLB	Brahmin	Pleader Sadashiv Peth	"
1471	Bombay National Union	Mr Shyram Mahadeo Paraniye M A		Public at Sadashiv Peth Poona	12 12 16

1473	Dr S M Sane B A, B S C P H D			Lamington Road		
1473	Bombay i C C	Mr Sadashiv R Bakhale B A LLB	Hindu	Kennedy Bridge Bombay		11 12 16
1474	Ioona C C	Mr S A Manurkar	Lungayat	Merchant Bhavani Peth Poona		7 12 16
1475	Hyderabad C Committee	Mr Sagaulal Haranand B A LLB	Hindu	Pleader Sukkur		3 12 16
1476	Nasik D C	Mr Shirdhar A Deshpande		Pleader Senmir district Nasik		14 12 16
1477	Bombay vincial C C	The Hon Mr Sharif Dwy Kanji	Mahomedan	Merchant Colaba Bombay		12 12 16
1478	Bombay i Assn	Mr S A Velankar B A LLB	Hindu	Bar at Law Ratan House Lamington Road		
1479	Hyderabad C Comm ttee	Mr Sundarlal Bhojrang Landit		Teacher Srid Brahmachari Ashram		3 12 16
1480	Girgaon Dist C Committee	Mr Sadashiv Aiant Hajare		Service 65 Khota s Wadi Girgaon		7 12 16
1481	Bombay National Union	Mr Shankar Sambhaji Ganglu B A		Contractor Kamatapura 10th Street		12 12 16
1482	Byculla D C Committee	Mr Shankar Rajuma Julkar		Landlord 9th Street		
1483	Bombay Pro vincial C C	Mr Shankar Sayena Parsha		Kamatapura 3rd Lane Byculla		11 12 16
1484	Bijapur Dist C Committee	Mr S V Kowjalji B A LLB	Brahmin	ILeader		7 12 16
1485	"	Mr S R Kirsur		Pleader Bogalkot		
1486		Mr Srinivas Subbarao Mugali B A LLB,		Pleader Muddebehal		
1487	Bombay National Union	Mr S B Salvekar		Merchant Sardar Grl a		12 12 16
1488	Karachi Dist C Committee	Seth Suchand Vahandas B A	Hindu	Zemindar Karachi		11 12 16
1489	Nasik D C Committee	Mr Shankar Govind Iaregaonbar	Brahmin	Landlord		14 12 16
1490	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Shivabhai Motibhai Patel B A LLB	Patidar	Pleader Khadia Ahmedabad		16 11 16
1491	Ahmednagar D C Committee	Mr Shankar Shridhar Iarnaik	Brahmin	Merchant Anandi Bazar		3 12 16
1492	"	Mr Shankar Gopal Lele	"	Pleader		

1511	Almedagar D st. Assn Bombay	Mr Trimbak Annaji Devahak	Brahmin	La dlord Anandl Bazar	3 12 16
1512	National Union Karachi D st C Committee	Mr Trimbak Bhasker Shastri Klare, P A A I C I Mr Tournel S Tladat	Hindu	Public Auditor and Accountant 7 Mohan Building Girgaon Merchant Proprietor Sind Supply Stores Bar at law	12 12 16
1513		Mr Tyabali Ragabali	Indian		11 12 16
1514		Mr Thakorram Kapiram B A LL B	Hindu	High Court Pleader Sangliawadi Surat	11 12 16
1515		Mr Janardan Ramel andra Khisti FPS	Brahmin	Private Service and Trade Khisti Lane	3 12 16
1516		Mr Trimbak Narayan Pandit n A	Hindu	Merchant	7 12 16
1517		Mr Tikamdas Wadhmal	Hindu	Bar at law Bunder Road	11 12 16
1518		Mr Tikamdas K Jeswani M A	Hindu	Shikarpur (Sind)	
1519		Mr Tukaram Balaji Nirbali	Nirbali	Gold and Silver Merchant Sangamner District Nagar Merchant Karachi	12 12 16
1520		Seth Thakur Das Patchchand	Hindu	Share Broker and Joint Proprietor of Girgaon General Stores Pleader Jethibhais Poll Ahmedabad	11 12 16
1521		Mr Trimbak Laxman Thosar	Brahmin	High Court Vakul	12 12 16
1522		Mr Tuldas Jasray Iarekh B A LL B	Hindu	Merchant	6 12 16
1523		Mr J R Glorpure B A LL B	Brahmin		12 12 16
1524		Mr Umar Sobhani	Indian		
1525		Mr Udlaram Kamalram	Hindu	Pleader Khadia Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1526		Mr Uttaram Narayaram Thakur B A LL n		High Court Vakul Sandhurst Road	11 12 16
1527		Mr Uttamlal K. Trivedi B A LL n	Brahmin	Leader Satara	3 12 16
1528		Mr Vasudeo K. Mantri	Hindu	Contractor 67 Kamatapura Bazar Road	13 12 16
1529		Mr Ganpatrao V N Guntak		President Servants of India Society	6 12 16
1530		The Hon Mr V S Srinivasa Sastril			

1550	Byculla D st Cong Com	Mr Venkat Lumbaji Kodai	Brahmin	Contractor Kamatipura 8th Lane	13 12 16.
1551		Mr Vithoba Krishnaji Pugal	Hindu	Building Contractor 6th Lane	
1552	Bombay National Union	Mr V shnu Ramchandra Rajwade	Brahmin	Merchant Sangli	12 12 16
1553	Gujarat Sabha	Mr Vallabhbhai J latel	Brahmin	Bar at Law Bhadra Ahmedabad	16 11 16
1554	Khandesh Zilla Sabha	Mr Venkatesh Ganesh Javadekar	Brahmin	Pleader E Khandesh	20 12 16
1555	Bombay National Union	Mr V V Phadke		Bar at Law 400 Girgaon Road	12 12 16
1556	Khandesh Zilla Sabha	Mr Vinayak Govind Bhide		Pleader Amalner E Khandesh	20 12 16
1557	Almedagar Dist Assi	Mr Vishvanath Narayan Parnalk B A LL B	Kayestha	1 leader Anandi Bazar	3 12 16
1558	Dharwar Dist C Com	Mr Vishvambhar Rao Gopal Rao Gaya tonde B A LL B	Brahmin	Pleader Malgud Dharwar	
1559	Thana Dist C Com	Mr Vinayak Abaji Dava e	Brahmin	Pleader & Landlord	
1560		Mr Vishnu Pandurang Achwal	Brahmin	Pleader Kalya i D strict Thana	
1561	Bombay D C Comm ittee	Mr V R Mayali B A LL B	Brahmin	Pleader Chikod District Belgaum	6 12 16
1562	Deccan Sabha Poona	Mr Vasudeo Rajaram Guple B A LL B	Hindu	260 Sadashiv Peth Poona	6 12 16
1563	National Union Bombay	Mr Vishnu Anant Deshpande	Brahmin	Merchant Sangli	12 12 16
1564	Bhuleshwar Dist C C	S r Vithaldas D Thakersey Kt	Hindu	Hummum Street Fort	
1565	Deccan Sabha	Mr Dattatray Vasudeo Ambekar	Brahmin	Member Servants of India Society Poona	6 12 16
1566	Bombay Provincial C C	Mr Vinayak Shivaji Yog		Pleader Umdu Galli Janki Bai Pari charak s Wada	11 12 16
1567	Girgaon Dist C C	Mr Vallabhdas Chaturbhooj Shivjee	Bhatia	Merchant 71 Dalkei war Road	7 12 16
1568	Karachi D st C C	Mr V A Iyer I T S	Brahmin	Karachi	11 12 16
1569	Bombay National Union	Mr V A Marathe		Teacher	12 12 16
1570	Nasik Dist C C	Mr V Gangadhar Kelkar B A LL B		Pleader Nasik	14 12 16
1571	D st Congress Comm ittee	Mr Venkatrao Ramarao Hinigol M B B S		Medical Practitioner Gadag	"

1589	Mr S Parekh.
1590	Messrs Shambhu Prasad and Chiman Lal Thakoor
1591	Mr Kuvjerji Pittaji Jaswadda
1592	Mr Thakur Das A Gandhi
1593	Mr. Trikam Lal Narsing Lal Thakoor
1594	Mr Thakoor Lal P Thakoor
1595	Mr P C. Ajwani
1596	Mr Hirday Ram Mewa Ram
1597	Mr Jwan Lal H Dimru
1598	Mr Chandan Mal Josraj
1599	Mr Chintamani Sharma
1600	Mr Chukar Singh Jirat Singh
1601	Mr V Sharma
1602	Mr L. D. Keshav Aiyer

PROVINCE—MADRAS

		Brahmin	Merchant	
1603	Trade			
1604	Ganjam Dist Association		High Court Vakil and Landholder	"
1605	Madhyana Sabha	Theosophist	Proprietor, "New India"	By resolution dated 2-12-16
1606	Provl Congress Committee	Brahmin	Vakil, Proprietor and Editor "Swadesh Mitran."	At a meeting of the Sabha on 27-11-16
1607	Kumbakonam District C Committee.	"	Manager, Devasthanam Committee	At a meeting held on 29-11-16
1608	Cuddapah Dist Cong. Com	"	First Grade Pleader	At a meeting on the 21-11-16
1609	Provl C Committee.	"	Pleader	" 13-12-16
1610	Nellore Dist C Committee	"	High Court Vakif	" 10-11-16
1611	Provincial C Committee.	"	" " "	" 16-12-16
1612	Kumbakonam Dist C Com.	"	" " " and Landholder	" 10-11-16
				" 2nd week of Dec, 1916

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste creed or race.	Profession calling occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.
1613	Iroal Cong Committee	Mr A Sabhapathy Nayanar	Jain.	Indiano Merchant and Banker	At a meeting held on 16-12-16
1614	"	Mr A Rangaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil	27-11-16
1615	Vizagapatam Dist. Assn	The Hon Mr H Venkatapati Raju, B.A., B.L.	Rajput	" " and Landholder	17-12-16
1616	Mahajana Sabha	Mr H Rama Krishna Rao	Hinduin.	Pleader and Landholder	27-11-16
1617	"	Mr K. Ramanna Chetty	Hindua.	District Board Member	27-11-16
1618	"	Mr B Ranga Reddy	"	"	"
1619	Provl Cong Committee.	Mr Habu Rao	"	Merchant	16-12-16
1620	"	The Hon Rao Mahadur R. N. Sarma, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil	27-11-16
1621	"	Mr H Kuttappa	Hindua.	A. M. C. A., Spandan	10-11-16
1622	"	Mr R. N. Gupta	"	145 Met Street	27-11-16
1623	"	Mr B. Rajagopalam A. C.	"	Lecturer, Theosophical College	10-11-16
1624	Bezwa.	Mr B R. Reddy	"	Agency	"
1625	Provl Cong Committee.	Mr R. S. Rama Subba Aiyar	"	Librarian Hall of Theosophy	27-11-16
1626	"	Mr C Gopala Menon	"	Dubai, Messrs. Wilson and Co.	10-11-16
1627	"	Mr C. Kuppankengar	Brahmin.	Landholder, Chittoor	16-12-16
1628	"	Mr C S Govindaraja Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Non Brahmin.	High Court Vakil	10-11-16
1629	Taluk C. Com. Rajampet	Mr C. Seal a Savry	Brahmin.	Pleaser	at Nandalur
1630	"	Mr C. Seshachala Iyer	"	Pleaser	16-12-16

1631	Prov. Cong Committee	Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Teynampet	"	10-11-16
1632	"	Mr. C. Ramaiya, B.A., L.T.	"	Head Master, Theosophical College	"	"
1633	Proddatur Taluk C. Com.	Mr. C. S. Krishnamachari	"	Landlord	"	10-12-16
1634	"	Mr. C. S. Narasimhaiah, B.A.	"	Pleader	"	"
1635	Prov. Cong C.	Mrs. C. Jinaraja Dasa	"	Theosophical Head quarters	"	10-11-16
1636	"	Mr. C. Jinaraja Dasa	"	"	"	"
1637	Cuddapah Dist. Cong Com.	Mr. C. Lakshmi Narayana Sasthrulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	First Grade Pleader, Cuddapah	"	13-12-16
1638	Prov. Cong C.	Mr. C. S. Nataraja Aiyar	"	Landholder, Poonamallee	"	29-11-16
1639	"	Mr. C. G. Narayan Doss	"	Merchant, 459 Mint Street, G. T.	"	10-11-16
1640	"	Mr. C. N. Govinda Swami Rao	"	Mirastadar, Combatoore	"	16-12-16
1641	"	Mr. C. Doraiswami Aiyengar, B.A.	Brahmin	Secretary, South Indian Chamber of Commerce, Triplicane	"	10-11-16
1642	"	Mr. C. S. Seshadri Aiyengar of Negapatam	"	C/o Mr. V. R. Karandikar, Theosophical Society	"	16-12-16
1643	"	Mr. C. S. Trilokkar, V.A.	"	Vice Principal, Theosophical College, Madanapalle	"	10-11-16
1644	"	Mr. C. Selvaraju Mudaliar	Non Brahmin	Author and Journalist	"	"
1645	Coimbatore Dist. People's Assn.	Mr. C. S. Sambamurthi Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	High Court Vakil	"	6-12-16
1646	Prov. Cong C.	Mr. C. M. Parthasarathi Aiyengar, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Chittoor	"	16-12-16
1647	Cocanada Dist. Association.	Mr. C. Subrahmanyam	Hindu.	Merchant	"	"
1648	Kumbakonam Dist. Cong C.	Mrs. Dorothy Mary Codd	European	Teacher, Sri Saraswati Pathshala	"	22-11-16
1649	Prov. Cong C.	Mr. D. Hanumantha Rao	Hindu	Member of the Servants of India Society, Triplicane	"	16-12-16
1650	"	Mr. D. Gurumurthi, B.A. (Hon)	Brahmin	Lecturer, Theosophical College, Madanapalle	"	10-11-16
1651	"	Mr. D. Krishnamachariar	"	South Main Street, Tanjore	"	29-11-16

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession, calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1652	Kurnool Dt C Association	Mr D Subba Rao D A	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Chairman Nandyal	At a meeting held on 25 11 16
1653	Combatore Dt People's Assn	Mr E R Srikanthaswara A ; at Avl B A B L	European	High Court Vakil, Combatores	6 12 16
1654	Mahajana Sabha	Mr Earnest Wood	European	Honorary Secretary Theosophical Educational Trust Adyar	27 11 16
1655	Combatore People's Assn	Mr E. Kirk	Brahmin	Education	27 11 16
1656	Provl Cong C	Mr E C Aiyar	Brahmin	Bar at Law Vepery, Madras	29 11-16
1657		Mr F G Natesan	Indian Christian	Traffic Inspector S I Railway Trichinopoly	16 12 16
1658	Ganjam Dist Association	Mr G V Krishna Rao B A	Brahmin	Manager Utlam Estate Ganjam	2 12 16
1659	Provl Cong C	Rao Saleb G Subbiah Chetty	Non Brahmin	Adyar	10-11 16
1660		Mr G V Subba Rao		Sevaswram Adyar	29 11 16
1661		Mr G Venkataranga Rao M A	Brahmin	Secretary, Landholders' Association, Triplicane	16 12-16
1662		Mr G R Krishnaswami Chetty	Non Brahmin	3 Caus Chetty Street, Madras	"
1663		Mr G R Adike basulu Naidu	"	Municipal Commissioner, Madras	"
1664	Combatore Dt People's Assn	Mr G Doraiswami Naidu	Kammavar	Cotton Merchant and Landholder Kalangal Sulu	6 12 16
1665	Cocanada Provincial	Mr G C Jagannatham B A B L	Brahmin	High Court Vakil	15-12 16
1666	Cong Com	Mr G S Arundale		On the New India Staff, Sevaswram Adyar	10 11 16
1667	Mahajana Sabha	Mr G A Natesan B A	Brahmin	Sunkurama Chetty Street, G T. Madras	27 11 16
1668	An ntapur D Cong Com	Mr G Rameswara Rao B A B L		High Court Vakil Cuddapah	3 12 16
1669	Kumbakonam Dist Cong C	Mr G V Venkata Rama Aiyar B A B L		Mirasidar and First Grade Pleader	22 11 16

1670	Mahajana Sabha	Mrs. Hilda Wood	English	Assistant Secretary, Theosophical International Trust	"	27-11-16
1671	Anantapur Dist Cong Com.	Mr H Sankara Rao, B.A.	Brahmin	Pleader and Landholder	"	3-12-16
1672	Taluk C Com Penukonda	Mr H Seshagiri Rao, B.A.	"	Pleader	"	12-12-16
1673	Mahajana Sabha	Mr J R. Arri	"	Secretary, Theosophical Society, Adyar	"	27-11-16
1674	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr J Venkataramu Aiyer	Brahmin	Vakil, Sivaganga	"	29-11-16
1675	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr N Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil	"	13-11-16
1676	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr Krishnaswami Sarma	"	Author and Journalist, Sathyagraham Conjeevaram	"	6-12-16
1677	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K Venkatreddy Naidu, B.A., B.L.	Non Brahmin	High Court Vakil, Ellore	"	10-12-16
1678	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K Sitarama Rao, M.A.	Brahmin	Professor, National College, Masulipatam	"	15-12-16
1679	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K Hanumanth Rao, M.A., B.L.	"	Principal, Andhra Jathieya Kalasala, Masulipatam	"	"
1680	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K Seshachariu B.A.	"	Pleader, Narsapur, Kistna District	"	27-11-16
1681	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	The Hon. Sri Rajah K. R. V. Krishna Rao, B.A. of Polavaram	Brahmin	Zemindar of Polavaram, Cocanada	"	10-11-16
1682	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K Sundararajan	Hindu	26 Car Street, Triplicane, Madras	"	"
1683	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K S Ramaswami Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Hund Merchant, Tuticorin	"	9-12-16
1684	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K S Narayana Aiyer	"	Hund Merchant, Tuticorin	"	"
1685	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K. R. V. Krishna Iyer	"	Landlord, Kathdal Kurichi	"	"
1686	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K S Sankara Rama Aiyer	"	Hund Merchant Tuticorin	"	"
1687	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K. G. G. Rao, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Cuddapah	"	13-12-16
1688	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K. R. Ramakrishna Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore	"	6-12-16
1689	Provincial C. Committee Rajahmundry	Mr K. P. Mahadevan	"	Messrs Deo & Co. Triplicane	"	16-12-16

Serial No	District	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinction	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1690	Provincial Committee	Mr K Narasimha Aiyar B A B L	Brahmin	High Court Vakif Egmore	At a meeting held on 16 12 16
1691	Maharana Sabha	Mr K N Aiyar Ayt B A B L		High Court Vakif Mylapore	27 11 16
1692	Rajahmundry District Assn	Mr K Somanatha Sarma		Leader	13 11 16
1693	Provincial Congress Com	Mr K Jagannatha Aiyer B A B L		High Court Vakif Mylapore Madras	16 12-16
1694	Cocanada	Mr Krutiventi Iyer	Vaid Maheshwari	Landholder Cocanada	15 12 16
1695	Colombatore District Assn	Mr Karan Singh Mehta		Merchant Coimbatore	6 12 16
1696	People's Assn	Mr K S Rama Subramania Iyer		Landlord Mylapore Madras	29 11 16
1697	Provincial Congress Committee	Mr K V Surya arajana B A		18 Narayanappa Naick St G T Madras	16 12 16
1698	Palghat District Congress	Mr K S Sakara Naryana Aiyer L M S	Hindu	Physician and Surgeon Palghat	21 11 16
1699	Palghat District Congress	Mr K A Ramaswami B A		292 Thumbu Chetty Street Madras	29 11 16
1700	Calicut District Congress	Mr K I Kesava Menon		Bar at Law Calicut	15 11 16
1701	Tinnevely District Congress	Mr K Ramalinga Aiyar		Landlord Kallidai Kunchi	13 12 16
1702	Provincial Congress	Mr K Souriraja Iyengar	Brahmin	Merchant Nidamangalam	29 11 16
1703	Tinnevely District Congress	Mr K V Ananta Narayan Aiyar B A		Pleader	13 12 16
1704	Ganjam District Association	Mr K S Manyam		Agent Messrs Burn & Co	2 12 16
1705	Kumbakonam District Congress	Mr M K Vaidyanatha Aiyar B A B L		Mirasidar and 1st Grade Pleader	22 11 16
1706	Maharana Sabha	Mr K S Desikan M A B L	Brahmin	High Court Vakif Triplicane	27 11 16
1707	-	Mr K T Iyul		General Secretary National Missionary Society India	"

1708	Provl C. C.	Mr. K. Chinnaswami Ayer, M. A	...	Professor, Madura College	...	29-11-16
1709	Madura D People's Assn.	The Hon Mr. K. Rama Aiyengar, B. A., B. L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakul	...	12-11-16
1710	Ganjam D Association	Mr. K. Lakshmi Prasada Rao Pantulu	"	Proprietor of Udam estate	...	2-12-16
1711	Madras P. C. C.	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakul, Palm Grove, Myla- pore	...	10-11-16
1712	"	Mr L. S. Viraraghava Iyer, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakul, Home Park, Roy- pettali	...	27-11-16
1713	Mahajana Sabha	Mr L. Subba Rao, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakul, Vani Vilas	...	"
1714	Madras P. C. C.	Mr L. C. Sundaravaradachariar	"	Pleader, Chittoor	...	16-12-16
1715	Guntur D Association	Mr. K. Lakshmi Narayana	"	Landlord	...	15-12-16
1716	Anantapur D C Committee	Mr Nittur Lakshminarayan Rao, B. A.	"	Pleader and Landholder	...	3-12-16
1717	Ellore D Association.	The Hon Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, L. A., F. L.	"	High Court Vakul	...	10-12-16
1718	Madras P. C. C.	Mr M. Krishnamachariar, B. A., L. T.	"	Headmaster, High School, Ottapalam, Malabar	...	10-11-16
1719	"	Mr. M. S. Venugopal Rao	"	Teacher, Theosophical College, Madana- palice and Home Ruler.	...	"
1720	Madras M Sabha	Mr. M. V. Krishnaswami, L. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakul, P. Box No. 161	...	27-11-16
1721	"	Mr. M. Subramanya Iyer, B. A., B. L.	Brahmin	"	...	"
1722	"	Mr M. Suryaprakasa Rao, B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakul, Ellore	...	"
1723	Madras P. C. C.	Mr M. S. Kamath, B. A.	"	Journalist, 63 Bazaar Road, Royapettah	...	0-11-16
1724	"	Mr. M. Vedachala Aiyer, B. A.	"	Pleader, Poonamallee, Chingleput	...	29-11-16
1725	"	The Hon Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur	Mahomedan.	Member, Imperial Council	...	16-12-16
1726	Madras P. Cong Com	Mr. M. V. Venkateswaram, B. A.	Brahmin.	Lecturer, Pachayappa's College	...	16-12-16
1727	Madura-Ram- nad Dist. C. C.	Mr S. Ramaswami Aiyer, B. A., B. L., L. T.	"	Vakul, Madura, 1322, New Street	...	2-12-16
1728	Madras P. Cong Com	Mr M. Subramanya Aiyer	"	Manager, Vidwan Manoranjan Office, 16 Coral Merchant Street	...	16-12-16

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1729	Godavari Dist Assn Erode	Mr M Manickyam Chetty	Hindu	Merchant Cocanada	At a meeting held on 10 12 16
1730		Mr Mahadeva Aiyer	Brahmin	Pleader Erode	
1731	Malabar Cong Com	Mr R Ramakrishna Iyer B A		Lecturer B M College Calicut	19 11 16
1732	Rajahmundry Dist Assn	Mr N Subba Rao Pantulu B A B L		High Court Vakil and Landholder	13 11 16
1733	Taluk Cong Comm ttee	Mr Vanabaram Seshachari	"	Landlord Pullampet	" in Dec 1916
1734		Mr P Chengiah Naidu	Kamma	Merchant and Landlord Pullampet	
1735	Madras Mahajana Sabha Bellary Dist Cong Com	Mr N Narasinga Row B A	Brahmin	Pleader Proddatur	27 11 16
1736		Mr N Narayan Rao B A B L		High Court Vakil Bellary	12 12 16
1737	Madras P Cong Com	Mr N Minakshisundaram Aiyar		Pleader 3rd Street Mannargudi	10 11 16
1738	Madras Mahajana Sabha Virinagaram Taluk C C	Mr N Soundararajan		3/71, Dhavanotsava Bungalow	27 11 16
1739		Mr N Venkataraman M A	Brahmin	Lecturer Maharajas College	16-12 16
1740	Madras P Cong Com Co imbatore Dist 1 Assn	Mr N Srivasachari B A		1 leader Poonamallee Chungleput	29 11 16
		Mr N S Ramaswami Iyengar B A B L		High Court Vakil	6 12 16
		Mr N K Ramaswami Aiyar B A B L		High Court Vakil Tanjore	29 11 16
43	Madras P Co g Com Palghat Dist Cong Com	Mr Nellicherry Chidambara Iyer Sivarama Iyer		Landlord and Municipal Councillor, Nellicherry Palghat	21 11 16
1744		Mr Nell cherry Chidan bara Iyer Subramania Iyer		Landlord Nellicherry, Palghat	"
1745	Madras P Cong Com	Mr N L Sivarama Iyer		Banker 7 Little Market Street Trichinopoly	16-12 16
1746	Kumbakonam	Mr N Th ruvangadattan Iyengar B A B L		Mirasadar and First Grade Pleader	22 11 16

1747	Madras I Cong Com	Mr N Ramaswami A yer B A B L	Hindu	High Court I leader S North Veli Street	29 11 16
1748	Bellary Dist Co g Com	Mr O Krishnamurthi Rao	Brahmin	Municipal Councillor and Merchant	12 12 16
1749	Madras Maha jana Sabha	Mr P Anjaneyulu B A		Pleader and Landholder Tenali Guntur	29 11-16
1750	Rajampet Taluk Cong Com	Mr Arcot Parasurama Rao	Non Brahmin	Pleader Nandalur Cuddapah	, in Dec 1916
1751	F rode Assn	Mr N P Kuthiyungondiam		Banker Pasur F rode Taluk	6 12 16
1752	Madras Maha jana Sabha	Mr I Raghaviah B A	Brahmin	Landholder Tenali Guntur District	27 11 16
1753	Masulipatam Dist Cong C	Mr P Venkanna		Landholder and Teacher National College	15 12 16
1754	Madras P Cong Com	Mr P Raghava Aiyer B A B L		Vakil Chingleput	29 11 16
1755	Viragapatam D st Assn	Mr Pusapati Kumara Venkatapati Raju	Rajput	Landholder	17 12 16
1756	Madras P Cong Com	Mr P Viraraghava Aiyer B A B L	Brahmin	High Court Vakil	
1757		Mr P S Srinivasa Chetty	Hindu	Merchant	"
1758	Kistna Dist C Committee	Mr P Sathanarayana	Brahmin	Teacher and Shorthand Reporter Cocanada	At a meeting of D C C
1759		Mr Uppuluri Pattabhiramiah		Landlord Poola Kistna district	
1760	Calicut C Committee	Mr P Tamma Panikker B A B L	Hindu	Cocanada	15 11 16
1761	Palghat D st C Committee	Mr P Ramuni Menon B A		Vakil Chalapuram Post Malabar	21 11 16
1762	Calicut D st C Committee	Mr P Achayya B A		First Grade Pleader	7 12 16
1763	Madras Pvl C Committee	Mr Parthasarathy Aiyengar	Brahmin	Vakil	16 12 16
1764		Mr I K Seshadri Aiyengar B A B L		67 Govindappa Naicken St	"
1765		Mr P Subrahmanya Aiyar B A L T		Vakil Chingleput	29 11 16
1766		Mr P N Nageswara Aiyar B A B L		Asst Professor 15 Kachaleswara Agraharam George Town	16 12 16
1767	Madras Maha jana Sabha	Mr I M Sivagnana Mudaliar B A B L	Hindu	H C Vakil Royapettah	10 11 16
				High Court Vakil Vepery	17 11 16

1786	Masulipatam D C C	Mr Kodali Sivarama Krishna Rao	Secretary, Kistna District Assn	"	6 12 16
1787	Ichapur Taluk Association	Mr A Suryanarayana Murti	Landholder and Director District Lo operative Bank	"	6 12 16
1788	Vizagapatam D Association	The Hon Mr Atella Suryanarayana Rao Pantulu n A	Pleaser and Member, Madras Legis- lative Council	"	17 12-16
1789	Kurnool D Association	Rao Bahadur S V Narasimha Rao B A	Pleaser, Municipal Chairman and District Board Member	"	25-11 16
1790	Taluk C C	Mr Arcot Sundara Rao, B A	Union Chairman and Pleader	"	In Dec 1916
1791	Nandalur Association	Mr S R Rangaswami Ayengar	Vakil, Erode	"	6 12-16
1792	Tuticorin P Association	Mr S V Viswanatha Iyer, B A B L	Vakil, Tuticorin	"	9 12-16
1793	Proddatur Taluk C C	Mr Arcot Srinivasa Rao, B A	First Grade Pleader	"	10 12-16
1794	Kumbakonam C Committee	Mr S Rajarama Aiyar, B A.	Mpl Secretary, Pachappa Mudali Street	"	22 11-16
1795		Mr S Mahalinga Aiyer, B A, B L	1st Grade Pleader, 55 Big Street	At a special meeting of Cong ress Committee	
1796	Madras M Sabha	Mr S Natesa Iyer	Sub Editor, 'New India'	"	27 11-16
1797	Madras P C Committee	Mr S M Narayana Aiyengar	Vakil Sivaganga	"	29 11 16
1798		Mr S Narayana Aiyengar	Professor, Kendray College, Mannar- gudi	"	"
1799		Mr Sundaramurthi Chetty	Clerk, Gl Elec Co, 106 Armentan Street	"	"
1800	Mayavaram Tanjore C C	Mr S A Balakrishna Iyer, B A B L	High Court Vakil	"	12 12 16
1801	Cuddapah D C Committee	Mr Cowkur Srinivasa Rao B A, B L	First Grade Pleader	"	13-12 16
1802	Madras	Mr S Kasturi Ranga Aiyengar	Editor, The Hindu, Madras	"	27 11-16
1803	Madras Maha jana Sabha	Mr S Pattabhiram, B A, (Hon)	Professor, C H C, Kashi	"	"
1804	Guntur D Association	Mr S V Subba Rao	Merchant	"	15-12-16
1805	Madras P C Committee	Mr S Krishnaswami Aiyengar	Bookseller, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly	"	10 11-16
1806		Mr S Somasundaram Pillai, B A, B L	High Court Vakil, George Town	"	29 11-16

1825	Tinnevely District C C	Mr T Swaminathan Aiyar	Hindu	Landlord Kallidai Kurichi	13 12 16
1826	Madras District C C	Mr T S Anantharaman R A B L	Hindu	26 Car Street Tr p cane	10 11 16
1827	Madras District C C	Mr T Narasimhulu L M S	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner	12 12 16
1828	Madras District C C	Mr T G Sankaranarayana Iyer		Secretary Home Rule League Trichi Landholder	16 12 16
1829	Madras District C C	Mr Trikootam Subba Rao			3 12 16
1830	Madras District C C	Mr T V Gopalan Aiyer		Retired Deputy Collector Anandasreni Bar at Law	10 11 16
1831	Ganjam District C C	Mr V V G R			17 12 16
1832	Ganjam District Association	Mr Varthana Venkata Jogayyath Pantulu		Government Pleader Berhampore	
1833	Taluk District C C	Mr V V Varadarajulu B A B L		Pleader Nandalur	in Dec 1916
1834	Madras District C C	Mr V Iya Sagar Iandya	Hindu	Secretary The Indian Bank Limited	27 11 16
1835	Madras District C C	Mr V K Desai Aiyer B A B L	Brahmin	Retired Sub Judge, Tanjore	29 11 16
1836		Mr V A Sundaram	"	Landlord	16 12 16
1837	Cuddalore District C C	Mr V Ichniya B A		First Grade Leader	13 12 16
1838	Madras District C C	Mr V V Desai		General Merchant of Messrs S R Bala Krishna and Co (South Malabar) Guntur	15 11 16
1839	Madras District C C	Mr V Srinivasan B A B L	Hindu		29 11 16
1840	Madras District C C	Mr V L Venugopal Mudaliar		The Manufacturer care of Standard Oil Co	15 11 16
1841	Madras District C C	Mr V R Sankar		Indian Quadrangle Adyar	10 11 16
1842	Madras District C C	Mr V R Karandikar B A		Theosophical Society Adyar	"
1843		Mr V Tirumalaiah	Hindu	Attorney at Law, Egmore	27 11 16
1844	Cocanada District C C	Mr Verney Sathyanarayana B A	Brahmin	Leader Subordinate Judges Court	"
1845	Madras District C C	Mr V Viswanatha Aiyer B A B L	"	Vakil Madurai	15 12 16
					29 11 16

1865	Dr B S Moonjee, L.M.S.	Maharatha Brahmin	Medical Profession, Nagpur		3 12 16
1866	Mr B G Pandit B.A. LL.B.		Hugh Court Pleader Nagpur		
1867	Mr Balkrishna Dadaji Gujar		Malguzar, Itwari City, Nagpur		
1868	Mr Balwant I axman Pachkhade	Maharatha Brahmin	Landlord Kotai, district Nagpur		
1869	Mr Bahram Madho Patel	Gujarati Brahmin	Malguzar & Money lender, Warora		
1870	Mr Churni Lal Dube		District Chanda Pleader Damoh		
1871	Rai Sahab C Thacker Bar at Law	Kshatriya (Bhatta)	Bar at Law President Co-operative Bank Member Municipal Committee and District Council Raipur C P	At a public meeting held on 25 11 16	
1872	Mr Churni Lal Ragoba Sarenandal	Brahmin	Cultivation and Pleaders Clerk Khandwa	Elected by the District Con- gress Committee Raipur, on 27 11 16	
1873	Mr D V Darmadharan	Maharatha Brahmin	Malguzar, Chundwara	At a meeting of the Committee on 28 11 16	
1874	Mr Dhoondi Raj Thengdi		Mechanical Engineer Craddock Town Nagpur	P C C meeting	
1875	Mr Dasirath Sao	Hindu	Merchant Khandwa	At a public meeting	
1876	Mr Dowlat Nago Rao Mankar		Malguzar landlord, Kalmeshwar, dis- trict Nagpur	P C C Meeting	28 11 16
1877	Rao Bahadur Damodar Rao Shrikhande	Maharatha Brahmin	1 leader Damoh	At a public meeting on 25-11 16	
1878	Mr Digamber Krishna Sane			P C C meeting	
1879	Rao Sahab D Laxminarayan M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A.		Honorary Magistrate, Malguzar, Kamp tee C P	P C C meeting on 3 12 16	
1880	Mr L. Raghuvendra Rao	Kshatri	Bar at Law, Bilaspur	D C C, Bilaspur	
1881	Mr G A Ogale	Hindu	Editor, 'The Maharatta', Nagpur	P C C meeting 3 12 16	
1882	Mr Govind Gopal Rynade B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Pleader, Narsinghpur, C P		3 12 16
1883	Mr Gurnapya Jagdishwar Chatey		1 leader, Wasra C P		3-12 16
1884	Mr Gopal Damodar Tamaskar, M.A.		Landholder, Bilaspur	D C C " in Dec 1916	
1885	Mr G D Charde B.A. LL.B.	Vaidya	Pleader Wardha		on 12 12 16.

Serial No	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1886	Nagpur P C Committee	Mr G R Saptarishi	Maharatha Brahmin	Retired S P W I, Kamptee, 50 Rao Saheb Dharamnarsin Pleader, Nagpur	At a Provincial Congress Com mittee meeting on 3 12 16
1887	"	Mr G R Deo M A, LL.B.	"	Pleader, Chanda	"
1888		Mr G V Ayochit M A, LL.B.	Brahmin	Agriculture and Private Service, Wardha	Dist C. Committee meeting on 12 12 16
1889	Ward a Dist C Committee.	Mr G K Mohonee	Maharatha Brahmin	Bar at Law, Nagpur	Provincial Congress Committee meeting on 3 12 16
1890	Nagpur Provl C Committee	Mr G V Deshmukh	Kayestha	Pleader Parkota, Saugor	At a meeting of the Hite Sabha held on 20-12 16
1891	Saugor Hite Sabha	Mr Gopiall Srivastava M A, LL.B.	Ranla (Jain)	Pleader Dimoh	At a public meeting on 25 11 16
1892	Damoh	Rai Saheb Gokul Chand	Maharatha Brahmin	Leader	At a Provincial Congress Com- mittee meeting
1893	Nagpur Provl C Committee.	Mr Gangadhar S taram M A, LL.B.	"	co Mr Atmaram Bhigwan, Pleader	"
1894	"	Mr Gopal Atmaram	"	Medical Practitioner, Nagpur	"
1895	"	Mr G R Deo L M S.	"	Landholder Private Service Deputy Manager Surer Bhusla Estate	" on 3 12 16
1896	"	Mr Gopal Krishna Sahasrabuddhi	Brahmin	Leader, Chindwara	At a meeting held on 20 12 16
1897		Mr G R Trivedi B.A., LL.B.	Maharatha Brahmin	Leader Saugor	At a District C Committee meeting held on 27 11 16
1898	Saugor Hite Sabha.	Mr G R Wakhale M A, LL.B.	Kayestha	Contractor and Honorary Magistrate	At a public meeting held on 25 11 16
1899	Ra pur Dist C Committee	Mr Hormosji Taraporewalla	Rajput	Leader, Damoh	At a Provincial Congress Com mittee meeting
1900	Damoh Public Meeting	Mr Jhunnul Lall Varma B.A., LL.B.	Maharatha Brahmin	Malguzar, Nagpur	"
1901	Provl C Committee	Mr K. R. Singh	"	Agent Nagpur	"
1902		Mr A. M. Upadhyaya	"	Leader Nagpur	"
1903		Mr K. A. Potey M.A. LL.B.	"	"	"

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1943		Mr Nilkanthrao Udhoji			Pleader Nagpur		
1944		Mr N R Alekar B A LL B			High Court I leader		
1945	Khandwa Dist. Cong Com	Mr Narayan Vishnu Deo B A LL B			Lawyer	D C C	28 11 16
1946	Nagpur Provincial C C	Mr O B Ghate B SC LL B			Chind vana	P C C	3 12 16
1947		Mr Iarashram Gourh Jog		Maharatha Brahmin	Contractor		
1948	"	Mr P L Misra			Bar at Law Chindwara		3 12 16
1949		Mr P V Gharpure			Bar at Law Wardha		
1950		Mr I S taram Patel		Gujarathi Brahmin	Malguzar and Money lending	Warora	
1951		Mr Iurushotham Narain Iandey		Vaushya	Malguzar and Shop keeper	Warora	
1952	Akola District C Committee	Mr Ramdlan Jamnadas Marvadi		Brahmin	Cultivator Secretary Arya Samaj Akola Berar	I meeting on	13 12 16
1953	District Congress Committee	Mr Ram Dass Naik I A LL B			I leader and Malguzar Ra pur	D C C on	3 12 16
1954		Mr Ram Irasad Deshmukh B A LL B			I leader Drug C I		
1955	Nagpur Provincial C C	Mr R Awasthi B A LL B		Brahmin	I leader	I C C	3 12 16
1956	Khandwa District C Committee	Thakur Ram Singh M A		Thakur	Vakil Indore and Vice President Madh Bharat H du Sabha	D C C	28 11 16
1957	Berar Provincial C C	The Hon Rao Baladur R N Mudholkar C I E		Brahmin	Advocate Member C I Legislative Council Amraoti	I C C	
1958	Nagpur Provincial C C	Mr R S Devakar B A LL B		Maharatha Brahmin Parsi	I leader		
1959		Mr R R Kapadia			Business		
1960		Mr Ramkrishna B A LL B		Kayestha	Pleader Chind vana C P		
1961	Raipur District C Committee	Pandit R S Shukla B A LL B		Brahmin	I leader Member Municipal Committee Ra pur	D C C	3 12 16
1962		Pandit Ram Dayal Tiwari			Pleader Dhamton		
1963	Nagpur Provincial C C	Mr Ram Chandra Narayan Sawany		Maharatha Brahmin	Landlord	P C C	

1932	Mr Visnu Wasudeo Kaur		Merchant Warora		
1933	Mr Vishwanath Damodar Salpekar B.A. LL.B.		Pleader Chindwara		3 12 16
1934	Mr V. R. Dhole				
1935	Mr Vaman Vasudeo Chitale B.A. LL.B.	Maharatha Brahmin	Pleader Nagpur		
1936	Mr W. G. Joshi B.A.		High Court Pleader		
1937	Mr Waman Ramchandra Khankhoje B.A.	Brahmin	Malguzar (1 and lord) Bilapur C.P.	District Congress Committee in December 1916	15 12 16
1938	Mr Yado Ramchandra Khandekar	Maharatha Brahmin	Clerk Dhawani district Raipur		
1939	Mr Yedwa Irabhaakar Watak B.A. LL.B.		Pleader Chindwara	Provincial Congress Committee on 3 12 16	
1940	Pandit Yashwantrao Deshmukh B.A. B.L.	Brahmin	Member of Municipal Committee and District Council Raipur and Fernin dar C.P.	District Congress Committee	

PROVINCE—BENGAL

1991	Burdwan Dist Association	The Hon. Moulvi Abul Kasim B.A.	Muslim	Journal st 2 Parker's Road Burdwa	At a meeting held on 20 12 16
1992	Calcutta Pro vincial Cong. C	The Hon. Mr A. Rasul			
1993	Dhulapur Association	Mr Ashutosh Gulri	Illegall Kayestha	Herode Dinajpur	13 12 16
1994	Faridpur Dist Association	The Hon. B. Ambica Charan Majumdar B.A., B.L.	Hardy	Member Bengal Legislative Council President Indian Association and Faridpur District Association People's Association Director Faridpur Low Office Ld	At an Association meeting on 13 12 16 2 12 16
1995	Narayanganj People's Assn	Babu Ashutosh Bhattacharyaj	Brahmin	Leader Narayanganj	Elected by People's Association on 18 12 16
1996	Alipur Dist Bar Assn	Bibu Bepi Krishna Bose B.A. B.L.	Kayestha	Vakil High Court 28 Hazra Lane Kolkata Calcutta	At a general meeting of the 21- Jergannas Dist Bar Assn P.C.C. on 13th Dec 1916
1997	Calcutta Pro vincial Cong. C	Babu Bipin Behari Ghosh B.L.	Kayestha	Pleader Mahdumpur	

Serial No.	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race.	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
1998	P C C	Babu Basanta Kumar Bose	Hindu	Vakil High Court Calcutta	P C C on 13th Dec 1916
1999		Mr B S Banerjee			
2000	Barisal Dist Association	Babu Baroda Kanta Banerjee M A B L	Brahmin	Pleader Barisal	At a public meeting held on 23 12 16
2001	Nadia Dist Association	Mr Bacharam Lahon B A B L	Bengali Brahmin	Pleader Judges Court Nadia Secretary Nadia District Association	At an addl meeting of the Nadia Dist Assn on 5 12 16
2002		Mr A C Banerjee		Bar at Law Municipal Commissioner 29 Phulbagan Road Entally Calcutta	
2003	Calcutta Provincial Congress	The Hon Mr Bhupendra Nath Bose M A B L	Hindu	Attorney at Law 14 Bala Ram Ghosh street	At a Committee on 13 12 16
2004	"	Mr B C Chatterjee			13 12 16
2005	Faridpur Dist Association	Mr B M Sen	Baidya	Bar at Law Faridpur	2 12 16
2006	Nadia Dist Association	Mr B K Lahiri	Bengali Brahmin	Bar at Law 237 Lower Circular Road Krishnagar Wellesly P O Calcutta	Nadia Dist Assn on 5 12 16
2007	Calcutta Dist Association	Mr Bipin Chandra Pal	Kayestha	Journalist and Author 55 B Sankari para Road	By the Dist Assn Calcutta
2008	Faridpur Dist Association	Babu Charu Chandra Majumdar B L	Baidya	Talukdar and Pleader Faridpur	Elected under the authority given by the meeting of the Association on 2nd Dec 16
2009	Bombay National Union	Mr Chhotatal Keshavlal Jhaveri	Jain	Jewellery Merchant No 23 Benstollo Street P O Barabazar Calcutta.	At a public meeting held under the auspices of the Union on 12th Dec 1916
2010	Calcutta Provincial Congress	Mr D C Ghose	Bengali Kayestha	Bar at Law	Meeting on 13th Dec 1916
2011		Mr D D Khandelwal		Landholder 2 Hanspooker Lane	" 13 12 16
2012	Barisal Dist Association	Babu Dinabandhu Lahiri B L	Vaisya	Municipal Commissioner Pleader District Judges Court Backerganj	" 1 12 16
2013		Mr Durga Mohan Sen B A		Journalism Editor, Barisal Hitaish	
2014		Babu Dayashankar Dikshit	Brahmin	Merchant	23 12 16

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2015	Rajshahi District C C	Mr Girtamohan Sanyal, M A, B L	Hindu	Pleader, Rajshahi	At a meeting on 3-12-16
2016	Nadia District Association	Babu Gaganchander Biswas	Bengali	Zamindar and Contractor, village Ma	" 5-12 16
2017	Calcutta Provincial C C	Babu Hem Chandra Sarkar	Brahmoism	Missionary, 92/3 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta	" 13-12-16
2018	"	Mr H Ghose	"	Bar at Law, Noakhali and Lucknow	" "
2019	"	Babu Hirendranath Dutt	"	"	" "
2020	Barisal District Association	Babu Haranath Ghose B L	Kayestha	Pleader Dist Judges Court and President Barisal Bar Library	" 16-12-16
2021	Faridpur District Association	Mr Hemanta Kumar Mukerji	Brahmin	Pleader, Faridpur	" 2-12-16
2022	"	Babu Hari Mohan Moulik	"	Honorary Secretary, Chikand Loan Office Limited	" "
2023	24 Parganas District Bar Assn	Mr Haran Chandra Dutt M A F L	Kayestha	Pleader Judges Court, Alipore 138/3/2 A, Kaligbat Road	" 24 P D Bar Ass
2024	Khulna District Committee	Mr Hemnath Banerji B L	Brahmin	Pleader, Khulna, Bengal	" "
2025	Calcutta Provincial C C	Mr I B Sen M A B L	Bengali	Bar at Law Advocate, Calcutta High Court, 57/1 Harish Mukerji Road, Bhawanipur	" 13 12 16
2026	"	Babu Indu Prakash Mitra	Brahmin	Trader	" "
2027	Dinajpur Association	Mr Jogesh Chandra Sen, B L	Bengali, Kayestha	Pleader Judges Court, Dinajpur	" "
2028	Faridpur District Association	Mr Jogendra Mohan Das B L	Kayestha	Pleader, Faridpur District Court	" 19 12-16
2029	Calcutta Provincial C C	Mr J Choudhuri	Brahmin	Bar at Law, 34 Saligany Circular Road	At a public meeting on "
2030	Faridpur District Association	Kaviraj Jatindra Nath Sen, Kavirajan	Vaidya	Ayurvedic Physician, Khandaspara P O	" 13-12-16
2031	"	Babu Jogesh Chandra Chakrabarty, B L	Brahmin	Municipal Commr, Asst Secretary, Dist Assn, Managing Director, Faridpur Bank Ltd late Vice Chairman	" 2-12-16
2032	Dacca Provincial Association	Babu Jogesh Chandra Gupta	Baudya	Vakil, Mpl Office Street, Dacca	" "
2033	Calcutta Provincial C C	Raj Jatindra Nath Choudhary	"	"	"
2034	Calcutta District Association	Mr Jnananjan Pal	Kayestha	"	"
				Dacca People's Assn on 15 12 16	
				P C C	
				District Association	

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected.
2035	Faridpur Dist. Association.	Babu Jogeswar Roy	Hindu	Pleader, Member, Local Board, Bhanga, Dist Faridpur.	District Association "
2036	Calcutta Indian Association	Mr Krishna Kumar Mitter, B.A.	Brahmo.	Editor, 'Sanyam', 6 College Square,	Indian Association "
2037	Faridpur Dist. Association.	Babu Kshitish Chandra Ganguly, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader and Landholder	At a meeting held on 2-12-16
2038	"	Babu Krishna Das Roy	"	Merchant and Zemindar, 17 Harish Chandra Mallik Lane, Member, Faridpur Dist. Board, Vice-President, Faridpur Dist. Assn, Member, Indian Assn, Director, Faridpur Bank, Ltd.	"
2039	Dinajpur Assn	Babu Kasiswar Chakravarti	Bengali Brahmin	Pleader	" 19-12-16
2040	Faridpur Dist Assn	Babu Kshitish Chandra Roy	Hindu	Zemindar and Pleader	" 2-12-16
2041	Rajshahi Dist C Committee	The Hon Babu Kishore Mohan Chaudhary, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Brahmin	Pleader and Zemindar, Ghoramara, Rajshahi Member, Bengal Legislative Council.	Meeting held on 3-12-16
2042	Silchar Bar Assn.	The Hon Mr. Kaminl Kumar Chanda, M.A., B.L.	Kayestha	Vakil, High Court and Addl. Member of the Vice-regal Council, P.O. Silchar, dist. Cachar at present 52 Grey Street Teaching, 82-1 Harrison Road	Elected by Bar Association on 18-12-16
2043	Calcutta Provl C Committee.	Babu Lalit Mohan Das, M.A.	Brahmo.	Pleader, Ranchi	Meeting on 13-12-16
2044	Khulna.	Mr Lalit Mohan Sen, B.L.	Hindu.	Editor, 'The Mussalman', 41 Elliott Lane, Calcutta	" 16-12-16
2045	Calcutta Indian Assn	Moulvi Mujibur Rahman	Mussalman	Pleader, Chairman, Municipal Board, Faridpur, Secretary, Faridpur District Association.	" 18-12-16
2046	"	Babu Mathura Nath Maitra, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Judge's Court	" " 9-12-16
2047	Tippur R. Assn	Babu Mohnl Mohan Chakravarti	"	---	Meeting held on 21-12-16
2048	Mymensingh Assn	Mr Monomohan Neogi, B.L.	Baidya.	---	" 13-12-16
2049	Calcutta Provl C. Committee.	The Hon. Dr. Nitratn Sarkar	Brahmo.	Medical Practitioner	"

2050	Faridpur Dist. Assn	Babu Nalin Kanta Sen, B L	Baidya	..	Pleader and Landholder, Assistant Secretary, Faridpur District Association. Assistant Secretary, Ishan Institution, Director, Faridpur Bank, Ltd., Landholder and Merchant, Nadia	Meeting held on 2-12-16
2051	Nadia Dist. Assn	Babu Nando Gopal Bhaduri	Bengali Brahmin Baidya,	..	..	5-12-16
2052	Faridpur Dist. Assn	Babu Nagendra Nath Sen, B L	Brahmin	...	Secretary, Bar Association and Pleader, Khulna Merchant	2-12-16
2053	..	Babu Onkarswar Dikshit	Brahmin	...	..	...
2054	Calcutta Provincial Committee	The Hon Mr. Prayash Chandra Mitter, M.A., D.L.	Kayestha	..	Member, Bengal Council and Vakil, High Court, 34, Elgin Road	13-12-16
2055	"	Dr Pramathanath Banerji	Hindu	..	Bar at Law, Educationist	"
2056	"	Babu Pruthish Chandra Roy	"	..	Journalist	"
2057	Faridpur Dist. Assn	Dr Promodlal Chaudhary, L.M.S	"	..	Honorary Magistrate, Director, Faridpur Bank.	2-12-16.
2058	Calcutta Indian Assn	Babu Purna Chandra Maitra, B L	Ibrahim	..	Pleader, President, Bar Association, Member, Faridpur Association, Secretary, Faridpur Association, etc.	18-12-16.
2059	Faridpur Dist. Assn	Babu Prasanna Kumar Das Gupta, B L	Vaidya	...	Pleader, District Court, Barisal	2-12-16
2060	Dacca P Association	Babu Priya Nath Sen	"	..	Editor, "Dacca Herald", Gardania House, Dacca.	Elected on 22nd Dec 1916
2061	Faridpur Dist. Association	Babu Pransankar Das Gupta, B L	...	..	Pleader, Bhanga, District Faridpur	"
2062	Calcutta Provincial Cong C	Babu Purna Chandra Mitra	Kayestha	..	Vakil, High Court, Belholla Road, Bhawanipur	2-12-16
2063	"	Babu Radhanath Datta	"	..	Zamindar, 26 Kasi Dutt Street, Nirm-tollah	13-12-16
2064	"	Dr Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, Kt	"	...	....	"
2065	"	The Hon Mr Ramanimohen Dey	Hindu.	..	Zemindar and Banker	"
2066	Tippera Peoples Association	Babu Rajani Kanta De, B L	Kayestha.	..	Pleader, Comilla	"
2067	Mymensingh Association	Mr Romesh Chandra Sen, B L	Baidya.	..	Pleader	9-12-16
2068	Calcutta Provincial Cong C	Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose ...	Brahmo.	...	...	21-12-16
2069	"	Mr S R Das	Bengali.	...	Bar at Law, 8 Molra Street	13 12-16

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
2070	P C C	Kaviraj Sudhindra Nath Sen	Vaidya	Landholder Ayurvedic Physician 31 Prasanna Kumar Tagore Street Pathunghata Kavaraj Bari Calcutta	Elected on 13 12 16
2071		Babu Surendranath Mallick M A B L	Kayastha	Vakil High Court 2 Chandra Nath Chatterji Street	" 13 12 16
2072	Faridpur District Association	Babu Sarat Chandra Chaudhury	"	Honorary Magistrate Bhanga Pleader and Talukdar	2 12 16
2073	Calcutta Provincial Congress	Babu Satish Chandra Chatterji M A	Brahmo	Professor City College Calcutta 75 Bechoo Chatterjee's Street,	13 12 16
2074		Babu Satyananda Bose	Hindu	Land holder	"
2075	Faridpur District Association	Babu Satish Chandra Majumdar B L	Kayastha	Municipal Commissioner Secretary M E School Assistant Secretary Farid pur District Association Director Faridpur Bank Member Indian Association and Pleader	" 2 12 16
2076	Alipur District Association	Babu Surendra Nath Mallick M A B L		Vakil High Court 2 Chandro Nath Chatterji Street Bhawanpur	24 Parganas Bar Association Alipur on 18th Dec 1916
2077	Faridpur District Association	Babu Surendra Kumar Sanyal	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner	Meeting held on 2nd Dec 1916
2078	Dacca Peoples Association	Babu Satish Chandra Chatterji B L		Pleader Judges Court	" 22 12 16
2079	Calcutta Indian Association	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee		Editor and Banker	" 18 12 16
2080	Rajshahi District Congress	Babu Upendra Nath Sarkar	Bengali	Pleader Ghoramara Rajshahi	3 12 16
2081	Calcutta Provincial Congress	Babu Upendra Nath Bose			" 20-12 16
2082		Babu Upendra Nath Bal	Brahmoism	Professor Canning College	13 12 16
2083		Professor Vaswani			" 20 12 16

PROVINCE—BEIJAR AND ORISSA

No.	Provincial C. Committee.	Members.	Hindu.	Vakil, Patna	At a meeting held on
204	Provincial C. Committee.	Babu Ajodhya Prasad, P. A. ...	...	Vakil, Patna	10-12-16
205	"	Babu Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya, M. A., B. L.	...	Vakil, High Court, Patna	"
206	District Congress Committee.	Babu Atikshan Sinha ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Muzaffarpur	"
207	Hindu	Mr. A. Hossain ...	Islam.	Zemindar, Bazaar	4-12-16
208	Sahitya Samaj Dist. C. C.	Pandit Abhaya Nath Mishra ...	Brahmin.	Teacher	21-12-16
209	Provincial C. Committee.	Babu Atul Krishna Roy, M. A., ...	"	Vakil, Patna High Court	12-12-16
210	Chupra Dist. C. Committee.	Babu Amides Prasad Singh ...	"	Mukhtar	10-12-16
211	Provincial C. Committee.	Babu Baidya Nath Narain Singh, M. A., M. L.	Brahmin.	Zemindar and Vakil, High Court, Bankipur.	"
212	Chupra Dist. C. Committee.	Babu Hindyabasin Prasad, M. A., B. L. ...	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court	10-12-16
213	Darbhanga Dist. C. C.	Babu Brajakhishore Prasad, M. A., B. L. ...	"	Vakil, Lalberia Sera	"
214	"	Pandit Bhavanishwar Mishra ...	Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar, Misiatola	8-12-16
215	Lalberia Sera Dist. C. C.	Babu Birghenari Prasad, M. A., B. L. ...	Kayastha.	Pleader	"
216	Darbhanga Dist. C. C.	Babu Haldewarayan Sinha ...	"	Zemindar, P. O. Chandanpath, Muzaffarpur.	"
217	Provincial C. Committee.	Mr. Bhubaneswar Prasad ...	"	Landholder, Bankipur	8-12-16
218	Chupra District C. Committee.	Babu Hindyachal Prasad ...	Kayastha.	Pleader	10-12-16
219	"	Babu Bankey Behari Lail, B. L.	"	Vakil, Chupra	"
220	"	Babu Chandradeva Narayan, B. L.	"	Vakil, High Court	"
221	Provincial C. Committee.	Mr. Chandrasehar Sahay ...	"	Bar-at-Law	"
222	Provincial C. Committee.	The Hon. Raj Bahadur Dwarka Nath, B. A., B. L., F. A. C. U.	Kayastha	Zemindar and Vakil, Muzaffarpur	13-12-16

2160	P Cong C	Babu Raghunandan Prasad	Hindu	Zemindar, Gaya	"	to 12-16
2161	Chupra Dist Cong Com Bankpur	Babu Ram Prasad, B L.	Kayestha	Vakil High Court Patna	"	"
2162		Mr Syed Mohamud	Mahomedan	Bar at Law	"	"
2163	Chupra Meeting P C C	Babu Shukdeo Narayan	Kayestha	Member	"	"
2164		Mr S A Hossain	Mahomedan	Bar at Law, Muzaffarpur	"	10 12 16
2165	"	Mr S Wari Nawab	"	Zemindar	"	10 12 16
2166		Mr Schechdananda Sinha	Kayestha	Bar at Law, Square Hall Bankpur	"	10 12 16
2167	Loharia Sera Cong Com	Babu Sariswati Prasad		Pleader Gorakhpur	"	
2168	Darbhanga Dist Cong C P C C	Babu S Sinha	Brahmin	Mokhtar, Zemindar, Muzaffarpur	"	8 12 16
2169		Khan Baladut Sarfaraz Hossain Khan	Mussalman	Zemindar, Patna City	"	10 12 16
2170		Babu Shambu Saran, M A B L	Kayestha	Vakil High Court	"	10 12 16
2171	Chupra Dist Cong Com	Babu Vikramaditya Sahay B L			"	"
2172		Babu Ambica Prasad	Kayestha	Mukhtar, Chupra	"	"
2173		Mrs Deep Narain			"	"
2174	Arrah	Babu Nand Koomar Lal			"	"

PROVINCE—BERAR

2175	Yeotmal	Mr Abdul Rasool Shaha B A LL B	Mahomedan	Pleader Pandharkaoba, district Yeotmal	Selected at a public meeting held under the auspices of the D Congress Committee Yeotmal	13 12 16
2176	Akola	Mr Bankat Singh Lakmansingh	Rajput	Rajput Landlord Akola district Berar	At a public meeting held on	13 12 16

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Caste, creed or race.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full	How and when elected
2177	Akola.	Mr Baldeo Singh Annusungla	Rajput.	Landlord, Akola, district Akola, Berar	At a public meeting held on 13 12 16
2178	"	Mr Bhikaji Waman Moole	Brahmin	Cultivator of Matergaon, district Buldana	"
2179	"	Mr Bal Krishna Shri Dhar Bipat, B.A., LL.B.	"	First Grade Pleader, Amraoti	Prov'l and District Congress Committees.
2180	Yeotmal.	Mr Himrao Hanmant Jatar, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader Yeotmal Berar	At a public meeting held under the auspices of the District Congress Committee at Yeotmal on 10 12 16
2181	Amraoti	Mr H V Bipat	"	Retired Station Master and Landholder in Berar, Jeywant's Dungallow, Amraoti	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 17-12 16
2182	"	Mr Baliram Rang Nath Kule	"	Pleader, Chandur, Amraoti district, Berar	At a public meeting held under the auspices of the Amraoti District Congress Committee on 17 12 16
2183	"	Mr H G Khaparde, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Amraoti	At a meeting of the Berar Prov'l Congress Committee held on 1 12 16
2184	Basim, Berar	Mr Chaim Singh Kewal Singh	Rajput Aryan	Landowner Kekat Umra, care of Swadeshi Shop, Basim Berar	Elected at a public meeting called by the Basim Sub Dist Congress Committee on 20 12 16
2185	Amraoti	Mr D Madho Sant	Brahmin	Clerk, Industrial Conference Office, Amraoti	By the Prov'l Congress Committee of Berar
2186	Yeotmal.	Mr Dymodar Gangadhar Gudre LL.B.	Brahmin	Pleader, Pandharkota, Yeotmal, Berar	At a public meeting held on 10 12 16 under the auspices of District Congress Committee, Yeotmal
2187	"	Mr Deorao Baliram Sasukar	"	Landholder, Yeotmal, Berar	At a public meeting under the auspices of the Dist. C. Committee, Yeotmal, on 10-12 16
2188	Yeotmal	Mr Dattatraya Krishnarao Kaul	Brahmin	Landholder, Yeotmal, Berar	At a public meeting held on 10th Dec 1916, under the auspices of the Dist Cong Committee, Yeotmal

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2210	Akola	Mr Narhar Ram Chandra Ghude		Landlord, Karanja, district Akola, Berar	At a public meeting held on 13-12-16
2211	"	Dr Narayan Govind Sahas rabuddhi	"	Private practitioner, Mustuzapur, district Akola	"
2212	Berar	Mr. R G Mundle, B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Yeotmal, Berar	At a meeting of the Provl Congress Committee held on 12 16
2213	Amraoti	Mr N V Sharanpani, B.A., LL.B., E.F.S	Brahmin	Pleader, Amraoti Municipality, Joint Secretary, Home Rule League, Amraoti Branch	By the Congress Committee
2214	Basim	Mr Narayan Vasudeo Bhat	"	Shop keeper, Basim (Berar)	
2215	Akola	Mr Narayan Khandcrao Phadaka	"	Editor of 'Berar Samachar', High Court pleader	At a public meeting held on 20th Dec 1916, called by the Sub Divisional Congress Committee
2216	"	Mr Narayan Kashinath Date, L.A	"	Pleader, Akola district Akola, Berar	At a Gl meeting on 13 12 16
2217	Yeotmal	Mr Narhar Shicoram Paranjpe	"	Medical Practitioner, Yeotmal, Berar	At a public " "
2218	Amraoti	Omkar Laxmanji	Bharati (Mendicant)	Landlord & Money lender of Daryapur, district Amraoti	At a public meeting held at Yeotmal on 10th Dec 1916, under the auspices of the Yeotmal Dist Congress Committee
2219	Akola	Mr Parsharam Chintaman Jogtekar	Brahmin	Landlord, Akola, Berar	At a public meeting held under the auspices of the Amraoti District Congress Committee on 17 12-16
2220	Yeotmal	Mr Pandurang Ambadas Deshpande	"	Pleader's Clerk, Yeotmal, Berar	At a public meeting held on 13th December 1916.
2221	"	Gosam Prithugir Hangir	Gosam	Proprietor, Harkishore Press, Yeotmal, Berar	At a public meeting held at Yeotmal under the auspices of D C. C on 10th December 1916
2222	Darwaha	Mr Pandurang Damodar Thatte	Brahmin	Pleader, Darwaha, Berar	At a public meeting held under the auspices of the District Congress Committee, Yeotmal, on 10th December 1916
2223	Akola	Mr Rajeshwar Narayan Deshpande	"	Shastri, Landholder, Akola, Berar	At a public meeting held under the auspices of Taluq Association, Darwaha, Berar
					At a public meeting held on 13th December 1916

At a public meeting held on
13th December 1916

Pleader Akola

Mr W L Chiplonkar

Akola Dist
Congress C

PROVINCE-PUNJAB

	Punjab	Lala Anant Ram	Hindu	Proprietor Iron Works	The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
2239		Mr Abbas Ali Sahab B A	Mahomedan	Bar at Law Gujranwala	The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
2240		Mr Ata Mahomed Bar at Law	Muslim	Bar at Law Rawalpindi	The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
2241		Mian Abdul Rashid Bar at Law	Islam	Bar at Law	The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
2242		The Hon Rai Sahab Bhagat Ram	Hindu	Pleader Lahore	The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
2243		Mehta Bahadur Chaud			
2244		Mr B R Puri Bar at Law		Bar at Law Lahore	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 8th December 1916 in its general meeting
2245		Lala Bishten Das B A	Hindu	Trade Merchant Phagwara	At a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee
2246		Mr Bodh Raj		Landholder and Sahukar Sargol Jhelum	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 13th December 1916 in its general meeting
2247		Mr Chharnaj Lal Sethi	Hindu	Trade Contractor Lahore	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 8th December 1916 in its general meeting
2248		Lala Dvirka Das		Care of Messrs Dewan Chand and Sons Amritsar	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 20th December 1916 in its general meeting

2263	"	Malik Girdhari Lal B A		Managing Agent Bharat Building Lahore	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 8th December 1916 in its general meeting
2264		Mr Jivan Lal Kattya Pandit B A		Lahore	At a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
2265	"	L Jagan Nath Thapur B A		Trade Paper Merchant Rawalpindi	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 8th December 1916 in its general meeting
2266		L Jiva Ram Thapur		Proprietor the Punjab Times Rawalpindi	
2267	Punjab	Lala Kishun Chand Rai Saheb	Khattri	Contractor Lahore	
2268	"	Mr K C Vidyarthi	Hindu	Manager B S Co Lahore	
2269		Lala Kaushi Ram Kapur		Trade (Chief Agent Empire Insurance Office) Lahore	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 8th December 1916 in its general meeting
2270		Mr Labh Singh M A Li B Bar at Law		Bar at Law Gujranwala	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 13th December 1916 in its general meeting
2271		Mr Ram Nograeth B Sc	Khattri	Contractor Ry Road Lahore	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 13th December 1916 in its general meeting
2272		Si aukh Mohamad Sadq	Mahomedan	Bar at Law Amritsar	
2273		Mr Murali Lal L A LL B	Jain Agarwal	Pleader	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 13th December 1916 in its general meeting
2274	Punjab	Mr Mahesh Dass	Arora	Agent Mitsari Bussan Kaigha Limited Lahore	
2275		Lala Makhan Lal	Hindu	Contractor Lahore	
2276		Lala Nanak Chand Bar at Law		Bar at Law Lahore	The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 8th December 1916 in its general meeting

Serial No	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions	Caste creed or race	Profession calling occupation and address in full	How and when elected
2277	Punjab	Dr Nihal Chand L M S	Hindu	Lahore	At a meeting of the Punjab Provl Congress Committee
2278		Dr Paru Mall M D M R C S L R C P	Khattri	Literature Anarkali Lahore	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee on the 13th December 1916 in its general meeting
2279		Lala Rattan Chand	Hindu	Pleader Jhang	By the Hindu Sabha Jhang on the 20th December 1916
2280	"	Chaudhri Raja Ram DA LLJ		Bookseller Lahore	By the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee Lahore on the 20th December 1916 in its general meeting
2281	Jhang	Lala Rama Krishna			
2282	Punjab	Mr Rajendra Prasad B A LL D	Kashmiri Brahmin Arya	Pleader Chief Court Muzaffargarh (Punjab) Pleader Chief Court Punjab	At a meeting of the Punjab Provl Congress Committee
2283		Pandit Ram Bhaj Datt Chodhry B A	Hindu	Manager the Punjab Times Office	
2284		Lala Ram Chand Thapur	Khattri	Contractor	
2285		Lala Ralla Ram	Mahomedan	Amritsar	By the Punjab Provl Congress Committee Lahore on the 13th December 1916 in its general meeting
2286		Dr Saifuddin B A Bar at Law			By the Punjab Provl Congress Committee on the 20th Dec 1916 in its general meeting
2287		Mr S K Lahiri	Brahmin	Joint Editor Panjabee Lahore	By the Punjab Provl Congress Committee Lahore on the 20th Dec 1916 in its general meeting
2288		Pandit Satvalkar	Hindu	Artist Lahore	By the Punjab Provl Congress Committee Lahore on the 20th Dec 1916 in its general meeting
2289	Lahore	Mr Sangar Lal		Pleader Chief Court Lahore	General meeting of the Indian Assn Lahore on 8 12 16

2290	Lala Sita Ram C E		Care of Mr T A Bardlay Civil Lines Agra	By the Punjab Provl Congress Committee on the 20th Dec 1916 in its general meeting
2291	Lala Todar Mal Bhandari Bar at Law		Bar at Law Amritsar	By the Punjab Provl Congress Committee on the 8th Dec 1916 in its general meeting
2292	Mr Tirath Ram Bagal	Arora	Pleader Mooltan City	At the general meeting of the Punjab Pl Congress Com
2293	Mr Har Kishan Lal			
2294	Mr G C Mehta			
2295	Lala Daulat Ram			
2296	Lala Gokal Chand			

PROVINCE—BURMA

2297	Burma Pl C Committee	Mr J C Bilmoria B A	Parsi	Bar at Law 52 Barr Street Rangoon	Burma P C C	8 12 16
2298		Mr J N Bose B A B L	Hindu	Advocate Mandalay		
2299		Mr Nib Raj Telvar F T S	Khatti	Landlord Gayagong Burma		
2300		Dr P J Melita	Jam	Merchant 14 Moqul Street Rangoon		
2301		Mr Mosur Subramania Ayer F T S	Madras Brahmin	Landowner Theosophical Lecturer Rangoon		

[Note—Pandits Venkatesh Narayan Tiwary Krishna Prasad Kauf and Hirday Nath Kunzru—These three gentlemen are honorary delegates
The actual number of delegates therefore is 2298]

APPENDIX F.

Members of the Working Committee.

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan.
- 2 The Hon'ble Mirza Samullah Beg
- 3 The Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 4 Babu Ram Chandra
- 5 Mr. A. P. Sen.
6. Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava.
7. Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon.
8. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru
- 9 Mr. I. K. Yagnik.
10. Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tiwary.
11. Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul.
12. Pandit Ram Nath Sapru
- 13 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra
- 14 Dr Naziruddin Hassan.
- 15 Pandit Ganesh Behari Misra.

List of office-bearers and of the members of the Executive Committee of the Reception Committee of the 31st Indian National Congress.

CHAIRMAN—

The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan.

VICE-CHAIRMEN—

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Allahabad.
2. The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, Advocate, High Court, Allahabad.
- 3 The Hon'ble Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru, Advocate, High Court, Allahabad.
- 4 Raja Prithvipal Singh, Taluqdar, Surajpur, district Bara Banki.
- 5 Mr A P Sen, Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.
6. Babu Ram Chandra, Advocate, Lucknow
7. Hafiz Abdur Rahim, Pleader, Aligarh.
8. Mr Syed Nabi-ullah, Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.
9. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.

SECRETARIES.—

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Advocate, Lucknow.
- 2 The Hon'ble Mirza Samullah Beg, Advocate, Lucknow.
3. Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Vakil, Lucknow.

JOINT SECRETARIES—

1. Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon, Vakil, Lucknow.
2. Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul, Editor of the "Hindustani", Lucknow
3. Babu Ramapat Ram, Vakil, Lucknow.
- 4 Dr Nazir-ud din Hasan, Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.
- 5 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra, Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.

TREASURER.—

Pandit Ram Nath Sapru, Manager, National Bank of Upper India, Ltd,
Lucknow

BANKERS.—

The National Bank of Upper India, Ltd, Lucknow.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1. The Hon'ble Raja Sir Mahomed Ali Mohammed Khan Bahadur, K. C.,
I E, of Mahmudabad, district Sitapur.

- 58 Mr P C Mukerji Insurance Agent Lucknow
- 59 Babu Mukat Behari Lal Bhargava Superintendent The "Oudh Akhbar" Lucknow
- 60 Babu Surendra Nath Roy Vakil Lucknow
- 61 Munshi Azhar Ali Pleader Lucknow
- 62 Syed Shahansha Husam Riwzi Vakil Lucknow
- 63 Mr Abid Husam Bar at Law Lucknow
- 64 Pandit Gopal Dass Sharma Ora

MOFUSSIL

ALLAHABAD —

- 1 The Hon ble Mr C Y Chintamani Editor of the "Leader" Allahabad
- 2 Babu Iswar Saran Vakil High Court Allahabad
- 3 Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru Servants of India Society Allahabad
- 4 Pandit Ramakant Malaviya Vakil High Court Allahabad
- 5 Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tewari Servants of India Society Allahabad
- 6 Pandit Krishna Ram Mehta Leader Office Allahabad

CAWNPORE —

- 1 Babu Vikramajit Singh Vakil Cawnpore
- 2 The Hon ble Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur Vakil Cawnpore
- 3 Rai Bahadur Lala Bishambhar Nath Cawnpore
- 4 Babu Narayan Prasad Nigam Vakil Cawnpore
- 5 Pandit Jai Narain Prasad Bajpeyi Cawnpore
- 6 Sheikh Mohammed Majid Ahmad Cawnpore

KHERI —

Pandit Suraj Narain Dixshit Vakil Lakhimpur

SITAPUR —

- 1 Babu Chhail Bihari Lal Vakil Sitapur
- 2 Mr A K Bose Vakil Sitapur
- 3 Babu Sidh Prasad Vakil Sitapur
- 4 Pandit Kalka Prasad Tribedi Vakil Sitapur

HARDOI —

Babu Manu Lal Vakil Hardoi

UNAO —

Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpeyi Vakil Unao

RAE BARELI —

Babu Kismat Rai Jagdhari Vakil Rae Bareli

PARTABGARH —

Babu Avadh Bihari Lal Vakil Partabgarh

SULTANPUR —

Babu Ganpat Sahai Varma Vakil Sultanpur

FYZABAD —

- 1 Thakur Mahadeva Singh Vakil Fyzabad
- 2 Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru Vakil Fyzabad
- 3 Babu Sundar Lal Vakil Fyzabad
- 4 Thakur Lal Bihari Singh Vakil Fyzabad

GONDA —

Babu Sarju Prasad Vakil Gonda

BAHRAICH —

Pandit Ram Sewak Pandey Bahraich

BARA BANKI —

Thakur Raghunath Singh Vakil Bara Banki

BENARES.—

Bahu Gauri Shanker Prasad Vakil Benare

GORAKHPUR.—

Mr Ayodhya Das Bar at Law Gorakhpur

BAREILLY —

Mr N. K. Kacker Bar at law, Bareilly

MORADABAD —

The Hon'ble Pandit Radhakishan Dass Vakil Moradabad

MEERUT —

Bahu Sita Ram Vakil Meerut

AGRA.—

Pandit Gohind Sahai Sharma Bar at Law Agra.

JHANSI —

The Hon'ble Rai Shanker Sahai Sahab Vakil Jhans

NAINI TAL.—

Pandit Mathura Dutt Pandey Vakil Naini Tal

DELHI —

Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal Retired Engineer Delhi

AJMERE.—

Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasad Tewari Ajmere

List of Sub Committees formed for the working of the 31st Indian National Congress held at Lucknow in December 1916 at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Reception Committee held at the Rifah & Am Hall on the 23rd June 1916 at 6 p m

I.—FUND SECURING SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBER IN CHARGE.—

The Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra

MEMBERS.—

- 1 The Hon'ble Mirza Samiullah Beg
- 2 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava
- 3 Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon
- 4 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul—*Con-ener*
- 5 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra.
- 6 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru.
- 7 Babu Kali Charan Bose.
- 8 Sheikh Yusuf Husain Khan
9. Dr M N Obdedar Rai Bahadur
10. Dr R. K. Tandon
- 11 The Hon'ble Syed Wazir Hasan
- 12 Dr R. K. Kacker
- 13 Mr Mohammed Wasim.
- 14 Babu Brij Mohan Dyal
- 15 Babu Lakshman Prasad Srivastava.
- 16 Chaudhri Ram Bharos- Lal
- 17 Dr Gauga Ram Jaithi
18. Dr Purushottam Dass Kacker
19. Pandit Debi Prasad Shukla.
20. Babu Ram Prasad.
- 21 Pandit Bisheshwar Dayal Trivedi.
22. Babu Mukat Behari Lal Bhargava.
- 23 Munshi Azhar Ali.
24. Babu Vikramajit Singh.

- 25 Rai Bahadur Lala Bishambhar Nath
- 26 Babu Iswar Saran
- 27 Pandit Ramakant Malaviya
- 28 Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tewari
- 29 Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpeyi
- 30 Pandit Kalka Prasad Tribedi

II—FINANCE CONTROLLING SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBER IN CHARGE —

The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Narayan

MEMBERS —

- 1 Babu Ram Chandra
- 2 Mr A P Sen
- 3 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 4 The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg
- 5 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava
- 6 Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon
- 7 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul
- 8 Babu Ramapat Ram
- 9 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra
- 10 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru—*Convener*
- 11 Moulvi Nizam ud din Hasan
- 12 Babu Basudeo Lal
- 13 Babu Ishwari Prasad
- 14 Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru

III—PANDAL SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBER IN CHARGE —

Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava

MEMBERS —

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Narayan
- 2 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 3 The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg
- 4 Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon
- 5 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul
- 6 Dr Nazir Uddin Hasan
- 7 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra
- 8 Mr St George H S Jackson
- 9 Babu Ishwari Prasad
- 10 Rai Bahadur Behari Lal
- 11 Pandit Ganesh Behari Misra
- 12 Pandit Brij Naram Tankha
- 13 Pandit Praduman Kishen Kaul
- 14 Pandit Tej Narayan Mulla
- 15 Babu Lachman Prasad Varma—*Convener*
- 16 Babu Ram Prasad
- 17 Pandit Brij Nath Sharga
- 18 Pandit Lakshman Prasad Pandey
- 19 Mr P C Vidyaant
- 20 Mr R N Sanyal
- 21 Babu Anand Behari Lal
- 22 Rai Bahadur Lala Kanbarya Lal

IV—CAMP SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBERS IN CHARGE —

- 1 B Hari Kishan Dhaon
- 2 Pandit Durga Prasad Tribedi

MEMBERS.—

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Nārāyan
- 2 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 3 The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg
- 4 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava
- 5 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul
- 6 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra
- 7 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru
- 8 Mr Muhammad Siddique
- 9 Mr H C Dutt
- 10 Mr C I S Oehme
- 11 Pandit Janki Nath Chak
- 12 Dr Kishen Lal Nehru
- 13 Mr P C Bhattacharjee.
- 14 Mr S N Sinha
- 15 Babu Ajit Prasad
- 16 Mr Brij Bhan Chandra
- 17 Dr T Bahadur
- 18 Dr K K Kacker
- 19 Rai Bahadur Behari Lal
- 20 Babu Gulab Chand Sirmal — *Convener*
- 21 Mr Ali Muhammad
- 22 Pandit Lakshman Prasad Pandey
- 23 Pandit Ganesh Behari Misra
- 24 Mr R. N Sanyal
- 25 Mr P C. Vidyant
- 26 Mr S N Roy
- 27 Babu Ram Prasad
- 28 Babu Anand Behari Lal

V—BOARD SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBERS IN CHARGE —

- 1 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru
- 2 Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpai

MEMBERS —

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 2 The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg
- 3 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava
- 4 Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon
- 5 Or Nazir Uddin Hasan
- 6 Pandit Chandra Bhal Bajpeyi
- 7 Mr P C Bhattacharjee
- 8 Mr Manmohan Nath Chak
- 9 Mr Hyder Husain
- 10 Babu Lakshman Prasad Srivastava
- 11 Pandit Tara Shanker Sharma
- 12 Mr Ali Muhammad
- 13 Babu Gauri Nath Kakai
- 14 Pandit Brij Nath Sharga — *Convener*
- 15 Babu Gulab Chand Sirmal
- 16 Babu Ram Prasad
- 17 Babu Gopal Das Varma
- 18 Pandit Ganesh Behari Misra
- 19 Lala Ganesh Prasad
- 20 Pandit Bisheshwar Dayal Trivedi

- 21 Babu Murli Dhar Tandon
- 22 Pandit Sheo Nath Sharma
- 23 Mr P C Vidyant
- 24 Mr P C. Mookerji

VI —PROPAGANDA SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBER IN CHARGE —

The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg

MEMBERS —

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Narayan
- 2 Mr Syed Nabi Ullah
- 3 Babu Ram Chandra
- 4 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan
- 5 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 6 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava
- 7 Babu Hari Kishen Dhaon
- 8 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul
- 9 The Hon ble Mr Syed Wazir Hasan
- 10 The Hon ble Mr C Y Chintamani
- 11 Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru
- 12 Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tewari
- 13 Mr Jagmohan Nath Chak
- 14 Pandit Brij Narayan Chakbast
- 15 Mr C S Ranga Iyer — *Convener*
- 16 Babu Lakshman Prasad Srivastava

VII —DRAFTING SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBER IN CHARGE —

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru

MEMBERS —

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Narayan
- 2 Mr Syed Nabi Ullah
- 3 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan
- 4 Babu Ram Chandra
- 5 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 6 The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg
- 7 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava
- 8 Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon
- 9 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul
- 10 Dr Nazir Uddin Hasan
- 11 The Hon ble Mr Syed Wazir Hasan
- 12 Mr Jagmohan Nath Chak — *Convener*
- 13 Mr C S Ranga Iyer
- 14 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra
- 15 The Hon ble Mr C Y Chintamani
- 16 The Hon ble Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur

VIII —RECEPTION SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBER IN CHARGE —

Mr A P Sen

MEMBERS —

- 1 Raja Sir Mahomed Ali Mohammad Khan Bahadur
- 2 Raja Prithwipal Singh
- 3 Mr Syed Nabi Ullah

- 4 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan
- 5 The Hon ble Pandit Jagat Narayan
- 6 Babu Ram Chandra
- 7 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 8 The Hon ble Mirza Sami Ullah Beg
- 9 Babu Biseshwar Nath Srivastava
- 10 The Hon ble Syed Wazir Hasan
- 11 Babu Hari Kishan Dhaon
- 12 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul
- 13 Babu Ramapat Ram
- 14 Dr Nazir Uddin Hasan
- 15 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra — *Convener*
- 16 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru
- 17 Pandit Tej Narain Mulla
- 18 Pandit Chandra Bhal Bajpeyi
- 19 Thakur Rajendra Singh
- 20 Syed Shahenshah Husam Rizvi

IX—VOLUNTEERS SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBER IN CHARGE—

Mr A P Sen

OFFICIATING—

- 1 Dr Nazir Uddin Hasan
- 2 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra.

MEMBERS—

- 1 The Hon ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- 2 The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg
- 3 Babu Biseshwar Nath Srivastava
- 4 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul
- 5 Dr Nazir Uddin Hasan — *Convener*
- 6 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra
- 7 Mr Hyder Husam
- 8 Mr S N Sinha
- 9 Pandit Br J Narain Chakbast
- 10 Pandit Tej Narain Mulla
- 11 Babu Lakshman Prasad Srivastava
- 12 Babu Gulab Chand Sirmal
- 13 Babu Ram Prasad
- 14 Babu Lachman Prasad Varma
- 15 Mr P C Vidyant
- 16 Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpeyi
- 17 Mr R N Sanyal
- 18 Mr S N Roy
- 19 Munshi Azhar Ali
- 20 Mr A K. Bose
- 21 Babu Manni Lal
- 22 Pandit Suraj Narain Dikshit

X—OFFICE SUB COMMITTEE

MEMBERS IN CHARGE—

- 1 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul,
- 2 Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tiwary

MEMBERS—

- 1 The Hon ble Pand t Gokaran Nath Misra.
- 2 The Hon ble Mirza Samiullah Beg

- 3 Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava
- 4 Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul — *Convener*
- 5 Babu Ramapat Ram
- 6 Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra
- 7 Pandit Ram Nath Sapru
- 8 Babu Kali Charan Bose
- 9 Babu Ajit Prasad
- 10 Pandit Brij Nath Sharga
- 11 Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tewari
- 12 Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru
- 13 Pandit Jai Narayan Prasad Bajpeyi